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Committee of Coal Mine Managers.

Facts concerning the struggle in Colorado...

[Denver]

[1914]

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Committee of coal mine managers.

Facts concerning the struggle in Colorado for industrial freedom. Series I. Issued by the coal mine managers. [Denver, 1914]

72 p. 22½cm.

No more published.

Prefatory note signed: Committee of coal mine managers: J. F. Welborn, president, Colorado fuel and iron co., John C. Osgood, chairman, Victor-American fuel co., D. W. Brown, president, Rocky Mountain fuel co.

A reissue of "The struggle in Colorado for industrial freedom," bulletins 1–15, June 22 to September 4, 1914.

1. Coal miners' strike, Colorado, 1913–1914. I. Colorado fuel and iron company. II. Title. III. Title: The struggle in Colorado for industrial freedom.

17-5163

Library of Congress HD5325.M63.1913.C777

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TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35mm REDUCTION RATIO: 11:1 IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 3-25-97 INITIALS: MS

TRACKING # : 22673

FILMED BY PRESERVATION RESOURCES, BETHLEHEM, PA.

MAY 3 - 1918

Facts

Concerning

The Struggle in Colorado

for

Industrial Freedom

SERIES I

308
Z
Box 132

Issued by the Coal Mine Managers

Facts

Concerning

The Struggle in Colorado

for

Industrial Freedom

SERIES I

Issued by the Coal Mine Managers

Sept. 1st, 1914 etc.

WHY THESE FACTS ARE PROMULGATED

IT is of the utmost importance that every American citizen should understand what has really been going on in Colorado.

The facts have been beclouded with unusual venom. The position and the activities of the coal mine managers have been most seriously misrepresented.

A strike was forced on Colorado. The men did not ask for it; they had presented no grievances to their employers.

As the result of agitation and intimidation, a limited number of men quit work. The number which remained at work never declined to less than 55 per cent. of the total; those at work on September 1, 1914, numbered above 75 per cent. of the normal quota.

It is to be hoped that a knowledge by the American people of the *facts* may promote permanent and healthy industrial peace throughout the United States.

COMMITTEE OF COAL MINE MANAGERS

J. F. WELBORN,
President, Colorado Fuel and Iron Co.

JOHN C. OSGOOD,
Chairman, Victor-American Fuel Co.

D. W. BROWN,
President, Rocky Mountain Fuel Co.

Denver, September 21, 1914

WHAT HAS HAPPENED

When Vice-President Hayes, of the United Mine Workers of America, came to Colorado in August, 1913, and for several years prior to that date, conditions in the coal mining fields, except in a comparatively small district immediately north of Denver, had been satisfactory to both miners and operators.

In August, 1913, there were employed in and around all the coal mines of the State, 12,059 men. About 60 per cent., or 7235, of these men were engaged in actually mining coal; 40 per cent., or 4823 men, were otherwise engaged in the industry.

Those employed as miners never worked more than eight hours a day. Many worked less, or not at all, as they saw fit. Those employed in other capacities than mining coal worked never to exceed nine, and in most cases eight, hours a day. This is in accordance with a statute of the State.

The total monthly earnings of these miners was and is astonishingly large compared with the wages paid for work requiring no higher degree of skill or experience in other pursuits.

For the year ending June 30, 1913, the mines operated by The Victor-American Fuel Company ran an average of 234½ days; the average wages of all miners for the year was $1100.75; the average daily earnings of all miners was $4.01.

For the same period, the mines of The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company ran an average of 248½ days; the average wages of all miners for the year was $999.36; the average daily earnings of all miners was $4.02.

The mines operated by the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company ran an average of 231 days; the average wages of all miners for the year was $1007.01; and the average daily earnings of all miners $4.36.

It has been said that "the earnings of an average American family (of which two members are employed) are less than eight hundred dollars a year." An industrious and experienced coal miner can average at least $5.00 per day, or approximately $1250.00 per year, in the mines of this State. Many have done much better than this. Four

brothers, Italians, during a recent year, earned more than $1850.00 each.

When the present strike was called, the employes of The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company had on deposit, at interest, with the Company, $500,000. And it is a notable fact that, notwithstanding the strike, less than 20 per cent. of these savings deposits have been withdrawn.

During the last fiscal year preceding the strike the employes at The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company coal mines received 80.9 per cent. of the earnings in cash. Of the 19.1 per cent. of all earnings deducted by the company before making payment to the men, 11.73 per cent. represented purchases at our stores; 2.25 per cent. represented rent of houses and the remaining 5.12 per cent. covered coal, board at the various boarding-houses (none of which were operated by the company), powder and the arbitrary charge of 50 cents per month for sharpening tools. During the same fiscal year The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company mines worked an average of 248½ days. The miners' earnings averaged $4.02 per day and $999.36 for the year.

* * *

WHY THE MEN WERE SATISFIED.

The operation of company stores in coal-mining camps in Colorado has been as advantageous to miners as to coal companies, as these stores have carried stocks of goods of the character required by miners, and prices have been as low and lower than those ruling on similar goods in nearby towns somewhat removed from the coal camps.

In camps of The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company deductions made on pay-rolls for purchases at company stores in advance of pay-days range from 7 per cent. to 13 per cent. of total pay-rolls, the remaining 87 per cent. to 93 per cent. of wages being paid in cash twice per month. The total purchases made at company stores by employes and others, including the reductions referred to, equal 22 per cent. of all pay-rolls. The fact that the company stores of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, for example, were conducted upon an enlightened and liberal basis is indicated by the fact that although the strike was in progress for nine months of the last fiscal year, the gross earnings of the stores actually increased. Even strikers continued their patronage.

In addition to these earnings, payment semi-monthly, eight-hour day, and the right to trade where they pleased, the miners had checkweighman where they wanted it. It is

not hard, therefore, to understand that they were satisfied with their conditions and opposed to a strike.

The expressions of satisfaction with conditions and opposition to a strike on the part of the miners became the strongest during the period of agitation immediately following the arrival of Hayes, vice-president of the international organization, in August. At some of the mines the men expressed these semtiments before the strike took effect in signed statements, the number so expressing themselves running from 90 to 99 per cent. at certain mines.

* * *

THE STRIKE CONVENTION.

The so-called convention held at Trinidad, September 15th, at which a vote on the strike was taken, was composed of delegates chosen entirely by the officers of the organization.

The number of delegates was made up largely from men who had been on strike in northern Colorado for about three and a half years, and practically all of the remainder had either never worked at the mines whose employes they claimed to represent, or had sought and secured a few days' work immediately preceding the strike and then attended the convention as delegates from those mines without having been chosen by the men whose interest they claimed to serve.

The vote of the mock convention, made up of delegates selected by the leaders—and not by the miners interested—was for a strike unless the operators would submit to their seven demands, which were as follows:

1st. Recognition of the union.

2d. An increase of 10 per cent. in wages.

3d. An eight-hour workday for all classes of labor in or around the coal mines and at coke ovens.

4th. Payment for narrow work and dead work.

5th. Checkweighmen.

6th. The right of the miners to trade wherever they pleased, the right to choose their own boarding place, and their own doctor.

7th. "Enforcement of the Colorado Mining laws and the abolition of the notorious and criminal guard system."

I.

The first demand, recognition of the union, involved a contract between operators and the labor organization, under the terms of which the operators would have been

required to collect from its employes and remit to the labor organization, all dues, fines and assessments that the organization saw fit to levy against the workmen.

The 90 per cent. of coal miners—then non-union—would have been required to join the organization or leave the employ of the companies where they had been working for years. This demand, involving as it did the absolute closing of the "open shop" which has always prevailed in the Colorado coal-mining fields, the operators would not consider.

II.

As Colorado's coal-mining scale was already about 20 per cent. higher than the scale in districts with which the Colorado coal competes, the granting of the second request for an increase in wages would have been little short of business suicide. Moreover, Colorado miners were earning better wages than miners in any other part of the United States, not excepting Wyoming, whose scale is nominally higher than that in Colorado.

III.

An eight-hour workday, the third demand, had been given to the men before required by law.

IV.

The fourth demand, payment for narrow work and dead work of various kinds, had been the practice for many years, and as evidence that the men were not being robbed, we can point to their earnings of from $100 to $190 per month, where they worked practically full time.

V.

Checkweighmen, the fifth demand, had for many years been the privilege of the miners without interference, and at some properties checkweighmen were employed by the men.

VI.

The men had enjoyed the right, without prejudice against them, of trading wherever they pleased, and were privileged to choose their own boarding place, the companies, with possibly few exceptions, not operating boarding-houses; but as to doctor, most of the larger companies had a well-organized and conducted hospital department, to which all men were required to contribute $1 per month, that entitling them to free medical and hospital attendance for themselves and families.

VII.

The general coal-mining law, prepared by a committee of operators and representatives of the miners, and passed at the session of the Legislature which adjourned a few months prior to the strike, is considered second to none in the United States, particularly in the protection it affords to mine workmen.

This law did not become operative until after the strike vote, but no fair-minded resident of the State doubts the ability of the regularly constituted authorities to secure its enforcement without the aid of the labor organization.

* * *

THE STRIKE IS CALLED.

Almost immediately after the strike vote, threats were freely made against those who were at work, that if they did not respond to the strike call they would be subjected to acts of violence, and in some cases the threats went so far as to hold out death as the result to those who continued at work.

This naturally caused thousands of men who had previously declared their honest intention of continuing at work, to reconsider their determination and cease work.

Probably two to three thousand men left the State and sought employment in other fields where there was no disturbance.

The number of men employed at all coal mines in Colorado in September, 1913, was 12,346. The number employed in October was 7696.

The reduction in force, representing the total number that responded to the strike call, was 4650, or less than 38 per cent.

In November the number employed in coal mines had increased to 8016, and in December to 9665. In March, 1914—the last month before the outbreak at Ludlow on April 20th, the total number of employes at coal mines was 10,146, or 79 per cent. of the number employed in the month of March, 1913.

These men produced 82 per cent. of the March, 1913, output, indicating that the better class of men remained at work.

* * *

INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE.

The purchase of firearms by representatives of the United Mine Workers of America commenced before the strike

vote had been taken and at a time when the organization leaders were stating for publication that the calling of the strike would depend entirely upon the men interested and that it was then uncertain whether or not there would be one.

Within a short time after the strike took effect, from 1500 to 2000 men in southern Colorado were fully armed and making almost daily attacks upon mine property and employes.

In the six weeks after the calling of the strike and before the militia had taken complete charge of the strike district, ten coal-mine employes had been killed, almost all of them from ambush and in cold blood, while in the repulse of attacks made by the striking forces upon those employed in the mines, four of their number were killed.

The bands of armed strikers were generally led by Greeks, many of whom had never worked in the coal mines. Many of these leaders in the armed attacks were known to have had no connection whatever at any time with the coal-mining companies.

* * *

PROTECTING THE MINES.

The operators had, in view of what was obviously to be the program of the strike leaders, employed at all of their more important properties from half a dozen to fifteen armed guards to protect the mine equipment and defend the workmen against the assaults of the strikers.

The operators were compelled to employ these men; it was not of their choosing. The necessity for it was being daily demonstrated. Their right to do so was not denied. And at this point it should be made as positive as language can make it, that these so-called company guards were selected with the utmost care, after an investigation as to their former experience, habits, and efficiency as peace officers.

At the request of the Governor of the State, they were uniformly directed never to leave the property of the operators except when on legitimate business elsewhere, and these directions were with like uniformity invariably obeyed. Not a single instance can be shown where a coal company guard deliberately left his station and attacked, much less injured, any striking miner.

It must be remembered that the mines nearest to the tent colonies were several miles away, and that in order to encounter any of these much-slandered mine employes the strikers were compelled to go from two to four miles

from the tent colonies where they were living. No possible difficulty could ever have arisen between the strikers and the guards of the operators unless the strikers elected to trespass upon company property; and even then, no case has been established where a company guard fired upon strikers except in defense of himself, the property and the men.

* * *

THE REIGN OF TERROR.

From the early part of November and after the State Militia had assumed charge of the district, comparative quiet prevailed, and many of those who had responded to the strike call through fear, returned to work feeling that the presence of the militia in the field made it safe for them to do so.

The military forces were gradually reduced until on April 20th a small detachment of less than fifty men remained. These were stationed at and in the vicinity of Ludlow. On the morning of April 20th they were attacked by the strikers and their leaders from the Ludlow tent colony.

It was supposed that all of the women and children had been removed to places of safety, as the soldiers had observed an exodus of women and children from the tent colony. The fight between the militia and their opponents continued throughout the day, and during the battle the tent colony was destroyed, the fire having apparently started from an explosion within one of the tents while the soldiers were some distance away.

When it became known that all of the women and children had not been removed from the tents, militiamen, while under heavy fire from the strikers, rescued several women and children from burning tents.

The next morning it was found that two women and eleven children had been suffocated in a cave into which they had been taken and the opening to which had been completely closed. Evidence of a doctor at the military court-martial held in Denver showed that the occupants of this cave were dead before the tent over it had been burned.

On April 23d, John R. Lawson, international board member of the United Mine Workers of America, and one of the leaders of the striking forces in Colorado, in an interview published throughout the State, asserted that a war of extermination would thenceforth be conducted by the strikers.

On the day previous, a virtual declaration of insurrection was formally proclaimed throughout the State. That proclamation was as follows:

* * *

A CALL TO REBELLION.

DENVER, COLO., April 22, 1914.

Organize the men in your community in companies of volunteers to protect the workers of Colorado against the murder and cremation of men, women and children by armed assassins in the employ of coal corporations, serving under the guise of state militiamen.

Gather together for defensive purposes all arms and ammunition legally available. Send name of leader of your company and actual number of men enlisted at once by wire, phone or mail, to W. T. Hickey, Secretary of State Federation of Labor.

Hold all companies subject to order.

People having arms to spare for these defensive measures are requested to furnish same to local companies, and, where no company exists, send them to the State Federation of Labor.

The State is furnishing us no protection and we must protect ourselves, our wives and children from these murderous assassins. We seek no quarrel with the State and we expect to break no law; we intend to exercise our lawful right as citizens to defend our homes and our constitutional rights.

(Signed),

JOHN R. LAWSON, International Board Member, Dist. 15, U. M. W. A., also president State Federation of Labor.

JOHN McLENNAN, President Dist. 15, U. M. W. A.

E. L. DOYLE, Secretary-Treasurer Dist. 15, U. M. W. A.

JOHN RAMSAY, National Organizer, U. M. W. A.

W. T. HICKEY, Secretary State Federation of Labor.

E. R. HOAGE.

T. W. TAYLOR.

CLARENCE MOOREHOUSE.

ERNEST MILLS, Secretary-Treasurer, W. F. of M.

* * *

For about ten days thereafter armed bodies, varying in number from 50 to 400, attacked the town of Delagua from the hills and killed three men.

They dynamited and burned buildings and equipment at the Empire, Southwestern and Green Canon mines at Aguilar, driving several men, women and children into the Empire mine and sealing the entrance with explosives. They kept up an almost continuous fire from entrenchments for about fifty hours upon the Walsen and Robinson mines near Walsenburg.

These two mines closed down during this siege, and the men working in and about the mine, to the number of 160, took up arms in defense of their lives and the property, thereby forming the real protective force at these mines.

After the arrival of the militia in Walsenburg the battle was continued between the strikers and the militia, in which a surgeon wearing a Red Cross insignia was killed while attending a wounded soldier on the field. Later his body was robbed and two or more shots fired into it.

They attacked the Chandler mine near Canon City and kept up a merciless fire from the hills for nearly forty hours, killing one man and finally taking possession of the camp by gaining admittance under a white flag. They attacked the Hecla mine in Boulder County, killing one man and wounding three.

Several hundred of them marched on the Forbes mine in the early morning of April 29th, and in their attack on it killed nine employes, slaughtered all of the mules, numbering thirty-three, burned the barn, boarding-houses and several other buildings.

* * *

THE GRAND JURY'S FINDINGS.

These acts of violence were subjected to a thorough investigation by the Grand Jury of Las Animas County, which submitted its findings to Judge A. W. McHendrie on August 28, 1914. Those findings speak for themselves. The Grand Jury said in part:

"The evidence produced before us clearly shows that the crimes under consideration were committed by armed mobs, acting in pursuance of well-defined, carefully matured plans, having for their object the destruction of property and human life.

"These mobs were composed of members of the United Mine Workers of America and their known sympathizers.

"An even more significant fact is that the organization in question, through its chief officers in this State, bought and paid for and furnished to its members the arms and ammunition used, organized and led the mobs and directed the execution of the various crimes.

"It also appears that the members of these mobs when injured in the course of their criminal enterprises, were cared for and secreted by the officers of the organization, and at its expense.

"It is significant also, that all of the various affrays referred to, with the exception of the one occurring at Ludlow on April 20, 1914, occurred at such distances from the abodes of the striking miners as to preclude any claim that the latter were defending themselves or their homes.

"It appears also that the leaders responsible for the conduct of the strike are in large part men from other States, who apparently came here for the sole purpose of assuming charge of the situation on behalf of the United Mine Workers of America, and to direct the course of the armed conflict with the officers of this county and of the State of Colorado.

"It is also a matter of common knowledge shared by the members of this Grand Jury with other residents of this county, that the funds for the prosecution of this organized insurrection, are derived from assessments levied upon laboring men, members of the organization in other States, and from voluntary contributions from members of labor organizations and charitable persons throughout the United States.

"From the systematic misrepresentation of the facts by the officers of the United Mine Workers of America, and by a portion of the press of this State, it is reasonable to suppose that these contributions were made in the mistaken belief that they were to be used for the subsistence of persons rendered destitute by unemployment due to the strike.

"The evident fact is, however, that they were largely used in the purchase of firearms and ammunition to be used by the strikers in a campaign of violence, designed to secure compliance with their demands through terror induced by the destruction of life and property."

In addition to this presentment, the Grand Jury returned indictments against a considerable number of officers and members of the United Mine Workers, charging the commission of murder, arson and other crimes.

* * *

WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS.

Since May Federal troops have patrolled the entire coal-mining region. The union leaders have made it plain to the men that there must be no attack against troops of the United States Government. If the union leaders had co-

operated as heartily with the State authorities as they have done with the Federal troops, there would have been no serious violence.

The coal operators are seeking to make conditions at their mines as attractive as possible. The fact that the number of men returning to work is constantly increasing attests the success of their efforts.

On September 1, 1914, about 9500 men were at work. **Fully** one thousand old employes returned to work of their own accord during the month of August.

* * *

PRIME FACTORS

In every aspect of this dispute these facts must be borne in mind:

1. That this strike was not a spontaneous expression of discontent by the men; they had been in the main quietly and contentedly at work for ten years—*earning the highest wages paid to coal miners anywhere in the world.*

2. The strike represented a carefully planned conspiracy by an organization outside of the State of Colorado, to force these men to quit work and thereby to establish the regime of that organization at these mines.

3. No serious demand for any change in working conditions was made other than that the organization be "recognized." That showed there was no substantial cause of complaint.

4. The real reason for demanding "recognition" was not to better the condition of the men, but through the "check-off" system to lay tribute to the wages of these men for the benefit of an organization the bulk of whose interests lay more than a thousand miles away.

5. The coal mine managers are not responsible for the failure of the State of Colorado to afford effective police protection. The mine employes have been entirely disarmed.

6. Only a fraction of the men at any time quit work, while to-day sufficient men are at work to prevent any failure in the coal supply or any unusual price. In other words, the public convenience is not at stake.

7. The presence of Federal troops in Colorado is at the request of the Governor of Colorado, and the policy involved in their remaining there is a matter for settlement between the State of Colorado and the Federal Government.

8. The large number of men now at work are peaceably pursuing their labor, asking only to remain unmolested.

9. Any sacrifice of principle in favor of those still persisting in idleness must, from the public standpoint, be regarded as *a price paid to induce them to refrain from riot.* There is no reason based *on public interest* which demands their return to work.

10. The repudiation of the strike by a large majority of the men, the protection of the public coal supply, and the fact that the men have given as many indications of their present satisfaction with conditions would appear effectually to dispose of any reason why a surrender should be made to a few men who have been led to believe themselves justified in attaining their ends by violence.

* * *

The difficulties of the situation, however, will be realized from the foregoing as well as from the bulletins issued by the coal-mine managers, explaining different phases of the strike.

That the public may the better understand these difficulties, those bulletins are reprinted herewith.

* * *

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 1 JUNE 22, 1914

THE PRINCIPLE AT STAKE

In order to set forth specifically the real issue at stake in Colorado, independently of any personal relations, the managers of the coal mines in that State, other than the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., have addressed a letter to the President of the United States, presenting their position. In brief, that letter sets forth these facts:

The aggregate production of our mines is between sixty and seventy per cent. of the total annual coal production of Colorado. Neither John D. Rockefeller nor John D. Rockefeller, Jr., nor any controlling stockholder in the directory or officer in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company has any interest.

In the present issue we are not opposing or waging a war against organized labor as such.

Since this strike was called, certain of our former employes, under the leadership of the paid agents and officers of the United Mine Workers, supplied with guns purchased with moneys from its treasury, have in armed force openly and successfully defied our State government and have caused a state of insurrection and anarchy to prevail in this commonwealth.

We submit with all deference that we ought not to be asked to deal with an organization whose officers, leaders and members have been guilty of these acts.

The military forces of the United States are now in control of the strike districts in Colorado, and we earnestly and respectfully ask that law and order be made to prevail in this State to the end that we may operate our mines and conduct our business in that peaceable and orderly manner guaranteed to every law-abiding citizen, and that our workmen may pursue their lawful avocations and reside at their homes without the constant fear of death at the hands of lawless mobs.

THE LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

The letter forwarded by the managers in full is as follows:

May 4, 1914.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY,
The President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

In order that you may be more fully informed with reference to our position respecting the so-called United Mine Workers of America, we deem it proper and timely to advise you as follows:

We each operate independently of the other and of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. The aggregate production of our mines is between sixty and seventy per cent. of the total annual coal production of Colorado. Neither John D. Rockefeller nor John D. Rockefeller, Jr., nor any controlling stockholder in the directory or officer in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company has any interest.

Our position with respect to the United Mine Workers of America is absolutely independent of that which has been or hereafter may be taken either by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company or by its officers or directors or by Mr. Rockefeller or John D. Rockefeller, Jr., although we heartily endorse the position they are now taking.

DEPLORE UNJUST ATTACK

We deplore the unjust attack upon Mr. Rockefeller. It is neither fair nor just to him nor to us to place the burden nor give him sole credit for the position we are maintaining. Independent of any stand he has taken or may take, we have endeavored to strive and must continue to fight for the maintenance of fundamental principles of government and law.

In the present issue we are not opposing or waging a war against organized labor as such.

We are, however, unalterably of the conviction that we can never recognize nor have any dealings of any kind with

the organization purporting to be a labor union and calling itself the United Mine Workers of America.

Prior to September 23, 1913, Colorado, as to its coal mining industry, was open shop territory. The men in our mines are contented, industrious and law-abiding citizens. For a number of years the United Mine Workers had made sporadic efforts to unionize the Colorado coal mines, but without success. For a few years prior to April, 1910, the operators in a small district in Northern Colorado entered into contractual relations with this organization, but their experience was so disastrous they were forced to discontinue.

After having conducted an unsuccessful strike in the Northern Colorado fields since April, 1910, the national officers of the United Mine Workers determined in the summer of 1913 that the time was opportune to again inaugurate a campaign to force the Colorado operators to enter into a contract with it, and thereby require them to coerce their employes into becoming members thereof.

To effect these purposes, they sent a large number of their paid labor agitators from other States into Colorado. The membership roll of this organization in district fifteen, of which Colorado is a part, at that time contained the names of 2048 out of a total of 23,000 men employed in the coal mining industry in that district.

MEETING OF AGITATORS

The agitators mentioned and certain delegates of their selection met in a so-called convention at Trinidad, in September, 1913, and called a strike of our workmen, by threats and intimidation, by incendiary and anarchistic speeches, and through fear of bodily injury or death many of our employes were induced to go on strike.

This strike was in its inception, and always has been, a strike for union recognition only.

Other pretended demands formulated at the so-called convention at Trinidad were fully guaranteed by our statutes. The coal mining code of Colorado is the most strict and comprehensive of that of any State, and was prepared and approved by a committee, one of whom was John Lawson, leader of the present strike, and another of whom was James Dalyrimple, State coal mine inspector and a member of organized labor. Our statutes are enforceable and have been and are being enforced.

Since this strike was called, certain of our former employes, under the leadership of the paid agents and officers of the United Mine Workers, supplied with guns purchased with moneys from its treasury, have in armed force openly and successfully

defied our State government and have caused a state of insurrection and anarchy to prevail in this commonwealth.

They have burned our mines, driven law-abiding citizens and their families from their homes and murdered our employes.

They have denied to us and to our employes all rights and privileges, according to the laws and constitutions of the State of Colorado and of the United States.

They have even presumed to refuse to comply with the demand of the United States army officers, without taking a referendum vote of all their members in Colorado, to surrender to the military forces of the United States the arms with which they have committed these felonies.

We submit with all deference that we ought not to be asked to deal with an organization whose officers, leaders and members have been guilty of these acts.

Such sympathy as exists in their behalf is based upon either a lack of information or the mass of misinformation and misrepresentation contained in recent issues of the public press.

CANNOT REMOVE MINES

There are today employed by the owners of coal mines in this State more than 10,000 men. They and their wives and children live in villages many of which have within ten days sustained the rifle fire of about 1500 members of the United Mine Workers of America.

We cannot remove our mines to other places, and we will not, unless forced to do so, close them at the behest of a comparatively few members of a lawless organization and set adrift the loyal employes now upon our payrolls.

If the 2000 members of the organization now militant in this State do not care to work in our mines, it is their privilege to decline to do so and go elsewhere into unionized fields where there are conditions more to their liking; and the officers of the organization to which they belong will once and for all settle the unrest which prevails here if they will expend some small portion of their funds to remove their dissatisfied members from this field instead of further increasing their lavish expenditure in the promotion of strife and bloodshed.

The issue in Colorado has ceased to be, if it ever was, one between capital and labor. In our judgment no question of the rights of organized labor is now involved.

By the use of the vicious checkoff system, the leaders of the United Mine Workers of America have coerced thousands of industrious and law-abiding citizens into joining their organization, and these leaders, by precept and example, have converted these men into enemies of organized government.

This organization, by force of numbers, by its control of labor, and by virtue of the millions of dollars forcibly collected from its members, has become so powerful that its leaders are now defying organized society to thwart its plan to rule or ruin.

By their criminal acts the leaders of the United Mine Workers of America have forfeited any claim that organization may ever have had to be considered a labor union, and have foreclosed any right it may ever have possessed as a pretended labor union, to demand that we have business dealings with it.

We respectfully submit that the one and the only question now at issue in this State is one of law and order and the maintenance of the constitutional privilege of every man to work within, where, for whom and upon such terms as he sees fit.

Shall government prevail, or shall anarchy and lawlessness rule?

We are and at all times have been engaged in a lawful business, and we are conducting and have always conducted our business in a lawful manner.

The military forces of the United States are now in control of the strike districts in Colorado, and we earnestly and respectfully ask that law and order be made to prevail in this State to the end that we may operate our mines and conduct our business in that peaceable and orderly manner guaranteed to every law-abiding citizen, and that our workmen may pursue their lawful avocations and reside at their homes without the constant fear of death at the hands of lawless mobs.

(Signed)

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUEL COMPANY,
By DAVID W. BROWN, President.

THE VICTOR-AMERICAN FUEL COMPANY,
By G. F. GARTLETT, JR., Vice-President.

THE OAKDALE COAL COMPANY,
By WM. B. LEWIS, President.

THE SOUTH CANON COAL COMPANY,
By HARRY F. NASH, General Manager.

THE PRIMROSE COAL COMPANY,
By H. B. KING, President.

THE RUGBY FUEL COMPANY,
By GEORGE D. KIMBALL, General Manager.

THE HUERFANO COAL COMPANY,
By S. S. MURPHY, President.

FRUTH AND AUTREY, THE CONSOLIDATED COAL AND COKE COMPANY, By C. L. BAUM.

THE ROUTT COUNTY FUEL COMPANY,
By E. L. PRENTISS, President.

THE YAMPA VALLEY COAL CO.,
By F. M. FELTIER, President.

HAYDEN BROS. (JUNIPER MINE),
By LEWIS A. HAYDEN.

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 2 JUNE 27, 1914

DISARMING STRIKERS AND MINE GUARDS

In order that the people of Colorado and the public generally might understand conditions with which the militia and the mine operators were confronted in the strike zone of Colorado, Brigadier General John Chase, commanding the military district of Colorado, has submitted a comprehensive report to the Governor, giving a full account of the military occupation of the strike zone.

In that report, General Chase has this to say with reference to his efforts to disarm the strikers and the mine guards:

"On the 31st day of October, the third day of the occupation, when the establishment of the military camps was well under way, I undertook, pursuant to Your Excellency's express directions, to disarm both sides of the conflict that I found raging upon my arrival.

"Realizing that in the event of the concealment of their weapons I would have great difficulty in disarming the combatants, I consulted the strike leaders, including John R. Lawson, and obtained from them, and especially from him, an assurance that if I first disarmed the mine guards employed through the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency to guard the operators' properties, the strikers would then cheerfully surrender the arms in their possession.

"It must be remembered that, upon our first coming into the field, the National Guard had at least the ostensible welcome and apparent cordial co-operation of the striking miners.

"Relying upon the assurances given me by Mr. Lawson and the other strike leaders, I proceeded to disarm the mine

guards upon the various properties against whom the most bitter feeling of the strikers prevailed.

"In the disarmament of these guards I had no difficulty whatever. They were assembled by their employers, the operating companies, and promptly turned over the high-power rifles with which they had been supplied.

"This disarmament I carried on with respect to the mine guards and employes of the operating companies in every camp throughout the entire strike zone, and speedily finished the complete disarmament of that side of the industrial conflict.

"It was arranged, upon the completion of the disarmament of the operators, that the military receive the arms of the strikers, and accordingly, upon the 1st of November, 1913, by an agreement between myself and the strike leaders, a parade of the troops to the tent colony at Ludlow, by far the largest of the strikers' colonies, was arranged.

"From all appearances the very best feeling prevailed between the troops and the strikers. I paraded detachments of the troops of various arms within Las Animas County at the Ludlow tent colony, upon the suggestion and invitation of the strike leaders, including Mr. Lawson.

PLANS TO DEVELOP GOOD FEELING

"My object was not only to receive the arms of the strikers, as promised, but to occupy peaceably and with good feeling the strategic points in the canons about Ludlow, which the presence of so large a body of armed men might have made difficult of accomplishment without bloodshed, had my entrance been disputed.

"The parade of the troops at the Ludlow tent colony was memorable. The road for a half-mile or more between the point of detraining and the entrance to the colony was lined on either side by men, women and children. Many of the men were in the strange costumes of the Greek, Montenegrin, Servian, and Bulgarian armies; for the colony numbered among its inhabitants many returned veterans of the Balkan wars.

"The little children were dressed in white, as for a Sunday-school picnic. All carried small American flags and sang continually the Union songs. Through this line of

men, women and children the troops paraded—infantry, cavalry and field artillery. Flags were waved in welcome, and an improvised band of the strikers heralded our approach.

"We passed by Ludlow, occupied the Berwind and Hastings canons, and then returned to the colony to receive the surrender of the hundreds of high-power rifles I knew the strikers to be possessed of.

FIRST INSTANCE OF BAD FAITH

"At this point occurred the first instance of bad faith on the part of the striking people. Expecting to receive hundreds, if not thousands of arms, there were delivered into my possession some twenty or thirty weapons, many of them of obsolete pattern, the strikers topping off the humor of the situation by including in the delivery of arms a child's toy pop-gun.

"Since that time the recovery of the strikers' arms has been attended with the greatest difficulty; it has been a game of hide-and-seek, and while I have been able to recover, a few at a time, a large number of high-power weapons, belonging to the union, from various hiding places, I will state that there are hundreds of guns still concealed and waiting occasion for use.

"In the meantime I had upon my hands a large number of the mine guards whom I had disarmed, and who, being defenseless, in the presence of enemies thirsting for their blood, had to receive protection.

"These mine guards I undertook to ship out of the strike zone. For that purpose I assembled a number of them in Trinidad. On the evening of the 31st of October I had in the Coronado Hotel at Trinidad a number of mine guards who had been disarmed and were awaiting a train to take them out of the country.

"Notwithstanding the representations made to me concerning the disarmament of the detested mine guards, and when I had rendered them helpless by disarming them, all of which was known to the striking miners, a great crowd gathered around the Coronado Hotel in which these disarmed men were contained, for the avowed purpose of reeking condign vengeance upon their enemies, thus, as they supposed, delivered into their hands.

THE CORONADO HOTEL RIOT

"Some five or six hundred men assembled around the Coronado Hotel with the express design of killing the disarmed and defenseless guards within. This is what is known as the Coronado Hotel riot.

"Notwithstanding all of the fair promises of Mr. Lawson and other strike leaders that induced me to disarm the mine guards first, they then rather gleefully assured me that they could not control their people, and that the feeling among the strikers, thirsting for the blood of the mine guards, was such as could not be stayed by any influence of the leaders.

"I found it necessary upon this occasion to assemble infantry and cavalry in the streets of Trinidad, and to disperse the mob thus bent upon wholesale murder, and to protect the disarmed mine guards until they could take the train out of the district. Fortunately, I was able to quell this riot and prevent large loss of life without bloodshed or other serious consequences than a few arrests.

A RECORD OF MISREPRESENTATION

"From this time forward, from the breach of faith concerning the disarmament until this day, the history of the strike leaders has been a record of bad faith, subterfuge, misrepresentation and chicanery with the military forces of the State, who entered the field taking no sides, having no interest in the industrial conflict, intent only upon preserving the peace and guaranteeing the constitution, until by these methods the striking miners have come to look upon the National Guard as a foe, in league with their antagonist, and the Guard has come to know that no faith can be placed, and no honesty or integrity of purpose can be found, in the strikers' camps as conducted by their present leaders.

"And I say this having no interest whatsoever in the industrial conflict still raging."

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 3 JULY 1, 1914

WHAT A SMALL COAL MINE OWNER SUFFERED

As a typical instance of the attitude of the smaller coal mine operators of Colorado, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, presented to the United States Senate, on June 12, 1914, a statement he had received from the Sunnyside Mining Company. Senator Thomas said:

This company is a small concern; it has been reasonably prosperous, and has had trouble with no one anywhere. This is the statement which the company makes, through its officers, of its attitude as one of the coal producers of southern Colorado, of the consequences which the strike has visited upon it, and its reasons for the conclusions which it has reached regarding arbitration.

This statement is signed by W. F. Oakes, the president of the company—a very upright and respected citizen of the city of Denver, and one who justly enjoys the confidence and respect of all who know him. He says:

"The property of the Sunnyside Coal Mining Co. is situated in Huerfano County, Col., 12½ miles northwest of Walsenburg.

"The land operated comprises 480 acres, with three veins of bituminous coal, 5, 6½, and 7½ feet in thickness, respectively. Capacity is 700 tons daily.

"The owners are W. F. Oakes, Ellen Terry Strong, and Milo W. Strong. The company is not affiliated with any outside interest. The executive head of the business is the president, W. F. Oakes, with general offices in the Gas and Electric Building.

ALWAYS FAIR TO LABOR

"The Sunnyside mines have worked for 10 years on the open-shop plan, making no distinction between union and non-union labor, and selecting men best qualified to fill the various positions.

"Prior to the strike call on September 23, 1913, not a single complaint had been made to the company by its employes, either collectively or individually, as to wages, hours, company store, company doctor, unsanitary conditions, or unsafe conditions in or about the mine—three men in 10 years killed. The few minor individual complaints were always promptly considered and adjusted.

"The average wage in August, 1913, just prior to the strike, was $4.12½ per man per 8-hour day.

"On Saturday, September 20, 1913, every man was paid off, and the president, W. F. Oakes, personally asked every man that stepped up to the pay window if he had any grievance against the company, and in every case the answer was 'No.' They simply responded to the strike call of the national organization for the 'general cause' (whatever that was the men did not seem to know).

"Early in November we re-opened the mine with strictly non-union labor, under a strong protection of the Colorado National Guard, and continued throughout the entire winter and until April 18, when we shut down temporarily for repairs.

"A day or so later came the reports of the Ludlow trouble, and the 'call to arms.'

ATTACKED BY ARMED STRIKERS

"On Friday, April 24, 1914, a wild mob of 250 armed strikers swooped down upon only 16 people left in our camp, and drove them into the hills. They continued in complete possession until May 6, 1914.

"The company store was completely wrecked (inside), the entire front broken in, the entire stock of general merchandise stolen ($15,000), the post office robbed of everything—money, stamps, letters, and parcel-post packages. The company boarding house was pillaged, the men's clubrooms looted, and every building in the camp was entered and everything of value taken or destroyed, a total loss of $26,000.

* * * *

ENLIGHTENED CONDITIONS

"The management of the Sunnyside mines prided themselves for years that they had established such favorable conditions at their mines that they were enabled to procure the very best element of labor in the field.

"Our company boarding house, with a capacity of 100 men, was constructed entirely with a view to comfort. Every room in the house was provided with a hot-water radiator, the floors were always kept clean; in front of each bed was a rug; each bed had two sheets, two pillowcases, one woolen blanket, two cotton comforters. The entire building was lighted with electric lights.

"In the dining room we served but one table, seating every man at once. We employed the best Jap cooks, and used only the very best materials for our table.

"In the basement of this cement building we had bath arrangements, hot and cold running water into porcelain bowls, something unheard of in any mining camp in Colorado.

* * * *

"In addition to this, we established a reading room and supplied all of the papers and periodicals free. We also established a library containing 250 books, and furnished the men with free stationery and envelopes.

"We also furnished a hot bath adjacent to the mine for those that desired it.

"Our schoolhouse is owned and maintained by the company, and was supplied with every modern appliance.

"We also established a miners' clubroom, to combat the evil of the ordinary camp saloon. A great deal of money was spent in making this a comfortable loafing place for the men, and the hours in which they could buy drinks were limited from 4.30 in the afternoon to 10.30 at night. These goods were sold to the men at a low figure, with a view only of securing sufficient profit to maintain a manager of the place.

"During working hours of the mine these clubrooms remained closed, also on Sundays.

* * * *

MINERS' CLUBROOMS WRECKED

"The miners' clubrooms were completely wrecked and all stock stolen, pictures taken from the walls, phonograph records, chess boards, the cloth on the billiard table ruined, the cues and balls stolen, the barbershop equipment badly damaged.

"In the reading room magazines and books were mutilated, thrown outside, and every condition that had been created for the comfort of our employes was wantonly disregarded.

"Our experiments along these lines, after studying the sociological conditions of miners for 23 years, proved beyond any question of doubt that our theories in regard to improving the social conditions and uplifting the social plane were mere vagaries.

"Our most earnest efforts were simply rewarded by our final destruction, and at the hands of those whom we endeavored to benefit.

"The only apparently unanswerable obstacle to a settlement with these striking miners is the recognition of the union, as almost every other material difference between the operator and the miner is covered by the existing law.

"There is no law compelling the operator to recognize the union nor to permit the employes to exact that recognition. The statute does provide, however, for the right of the employe to join a union, if he so desires, without coercion or interference. We do not deny the right of our men to organize, so long as they do not interfere with our prerogatives to employ non-union labor when we so desire it.

* * * *

"We will never agree to any contract that will oblige us to discharge the non-union men now in our employ."

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 4 JULY 6, 1914

HOW A CONGRESSMAN VIEWS THE SITUATION

Speaking before the House of Representatives at Washington, on June 13, 1914, Congressman George Kindel, of Colorado, gave utterance to many important facts in the coal strike situation. Below are a few extracts from that speech, as published in the Congressional Record. The order in which the passages appear, the subheads, and the typographical emphasis are for the purposes of this reprint, although the text of the original is followed absolutely. Mr. Kindel said in part:

"Mr. Speaker, it may seem a new role for me to appear as the defender of corporations. Much of my life has been devoted to what I have believed to be just criticism of many corporate abuses. But there are times when a position assumed by even corporate interests is correct.

"The position of these Colorado operators is correct. It deserves and shall receive my approbation and support. I know the men who say, 'We cannot enter into negotiations of any character with the officers and agents of the United Mine Workers of America, who alone are responsible for the terrible reign of disorder and bloodshed which has disgraced this State.'

HOW TO RESTORE PEACE

"These men mean what they say. There will be neither negotiation nor compromise. I agree with them as they proceed, 'instead of it being our duty to do so, we conceive it rather to be the duty of the officials of the United Mine Workers of America, who called the strike, to call it off; they can do so if they see fit, and **BY SO DOING THEY WILL, WITHIN AN HOUR, IN A GREAT MEASURE, RESTORE INDUSTRIAL PEACE AND PROSPERITY TO THIS STATE.**' But this they have neither the courage nor disposition to do.

* * * *

"True labor and wisely conducted labor unions have no better friend than I, for I am a member of a union that has accomplished much good. It is for this reason that I am compelled to denounce the methods of the particular labor organization which has brought disgrace, industrial blight, and almost financial ruin upon my State.

* * * *

"Mr. Speaker, the Colorado coal strike was not inaugurated by the men actually at work in the mines, nor because of the existence of any conditions which might afford just ground for dissatisfaction among them.

"Coal mining is universally recognized as a hazardous and dangerous business, especially in a district where the dry atmosphere is more conducive to the creation of dust and roof conditions to falls than in many other localities. But general conditions in the mines in Colorado were exceptionally favorable to the miners when this calamity was thrust upon our State.

CHARACTER OF THE MINE OWNER

"The mine owner is neither a brute nor a fool; he will not knowingly subject his property to destruction nor his men to unnecessary danger. Selfish interests alone dictate a contrary policy. Aside from this, I may say that I am personally acquainted with many of the operators of my State, and I know them to be honorable and humane men, who entertain a keen solicitude for the welfare of their employes.

"They have done, and are doing, much looking to the health and well-being of their men and the safety of their properties. That the miners knew and appreciated this is evidenced by the tenacity with which more than 10,000 continue to work in the face of intimidation, violence, and personal danger to themselves and their families.

"IT WAS THE AGITATOR, NOT THE MINER, WHO COMPLAINED AND WHO HAS WROUGHT ALL THIS HAVOC. And for what?—simply and solely to compel the operators to recognize the United Mine Workers of America.

"And what does this mean? It means that the owner of every coal mine in the State must enter into a written contract with this organization, and thereby agree, in effect, to employ only members of that union, and to deduct from the pay roll of every such member all union dues, fines, and assessments for which the member may be indebted, and then remit this sum to union headquarters.

WHAT THE UNION DEMANDS

"To be more specific, these agitators and leaders, the representatives of not to exceed 2000 striking men, say to the

mine owners of my State, 'You must discharge every one of your 10,000 loyal and satisfied workmen unless they join the United Mine Workers of America, and if they join, you must deduct from their pay roll such amounts as we may hereafter see fit to assess against them, and send it to the union treasury to use as we see fit.'

* * * *

IMPORTATION OF AGITATORS

"Prior to the calling of this strike no substantial differences existed between the mine owners and their workmen. There had been no State-wide labor trouble for 10 years; only 2048 out of a total of 23,000 miners in Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah were members of the United Mine Workers of America. But the officers of this organization proceeded to import into Colorado a horde of paid professional agitators and agents with the avowed purpose of circulating among the miners and injecting into their minds a spirit of discontent and dissatisfaction with their employers and the conditions under which they were working.

"Several weeks ago, at a time when the emissaries of the United Mine Workers of America were trying to make it appear that Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was responsible for and had the power to terminate the Colorado coal strike, the distinguished chairman of the investigating committee of this House telegraphed Mr. Rockefeller that Mr. Green, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, had made public a statement announcing that the demand for recognition of the union would be waived, and it was suggested to Mr. Rockefeller, in view of this circumstance, that negotiations be entered into looking to a settlement.

"Mr. Green was immediately called upon by the miners of Illinois, then in convention at Peoria, to explain what he meant by making such a statement. He answered by denying that such an announcement had ever been made by him, and asserted that under no circumstances would union recognition be waived in Colorado. More recently, on June 6th, John R. Lawson, in charge of the strike, with headquarters at Denver, reiterated the oft-repeated 'No peace without recognition of the union.'

* * * *

FIGHTING FOR THE RIGHT TO WORK

"The necessity for the maintenance of the open shop, for which the mine owners of Colorado are fighting, involves a principle far from local in its character.

"If this country is to endure, at least in its present form, the constitutional right of every man to work for whom, when, and upon such terms as he sees fit must be preserved, and the

employers of labor in Colorado who are standing for this principle deserve, instead of denunciation, the encouragement and support of every patriotic citizen. It will be a sad day for our country when men decline to fight to a finish for a principle.

* * * *

THE REMEDY

"There is but a single effective remedy—let maudlin sympathy for those who stand in open rebellion against constituted authority be banished.

"LET ALL GOOD CITIZENS ENCOURAGE AND ASSIST THE OFFICERS OF THE LAW IN FAITHFULLY AND RIGOROUSLY EXECUTING THE STATUTES AND CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS OF THE STATE OF COLORADO AND OF THE UNITED STATES.

"In this way, and in this way only, under existing conditions, can the rights of all parties be restored and preserved and the dignity of a great State and the greatest country on earth be maintained."

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 5 JULY 11, 1914

THE REAL MEANING OF THE COLORADO STRIKE

In order to define the issues at stake, the coal mine managers have forwarded to Washington a summary of conditions in the coal mines of Colorado. This summary has been sent to the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Mines and Mining of the House of Representatives, which has been investigating these conditions. The summary consists of an extensive pamphlet, some salient extracts from which are as follows:

"The present controversy is not a strike, for the reasons: First, the employes did not vote to call a strike; second, the majority of the miners did not walk out on the call, less than 25 per cent. responding thereto.

"In addition to those who responded to the call, probably 10 per cent., desiring to free themselves from the war threatened by the call of the strike, left the State. More than 60 per cent. of the men remained at their posts of duty.

"INSTEAD OF A STRIKE, THIS CONTROVERSY IS AN ARMED INSURRECTION AGAINST THE SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY OF THE STATE OF COLORADO, CONCEIVED, PLANNED, FINANCED, MANAGED AND DIRECTED BY THE OFFICERS AND LEADERS OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

* * * *

LOCATING PICKETS

"The coal field in question, where the greatest amount of disturbance had occurred up to the commencement of this investigation, is located in Las Animas and Huerfano Counties.

"In this area are located about 50 operating mines affected by the strike. Many of these mines are located in canyons in the mountainside.

"Occasionally a canyon accommodates several mines. The only means of ingress or egress other than the canyons mentioned is over the rugged mountains.

"Now, in the same area in which the mines above mentioned are situated, there were located by these organizers and leaders (most of whom are non-residents of the State of Colorado, and few of whom ever mined a ton of coal in any of the mines of Colorado) 10 tent colonies, and anyone studying the location of these several tent colonies is convinced that they were not located by chance, but by most careful design; for each tent colony is located where it controls the traveling way to one or more coal mines, and it is practically impossible, and has been so ever since the 23d day of September, 1913, for any person to get in or out of any mine in the district mentioned without passing the scrutiny of some one or more tent colonies, which colonies, from the foundation thereof to the present, have been surrounded by armed strikers every moment of the time except when the military forces have been in the field.

"And from these several tent colonies armed bodies of men almost daily sally forth and commit some act of violence, when not kept under subjugation by military power. The number and variety of the crimes committed by them is simply appalling.

* * * *

"And these crimes have been committed for the alleged purpose of bettering the condition of about 14,000 miners who were living in good homes, under pleasant environment, with good school advantages, and earning wages averaging better than $4.00 per day.

* * * *

TEN THOUSAND MEN NOW AT WORK

"But it is a question if the day of possible settlement has not now forever passed. There are about 10,000 miners now at work in the coal fields of Colorado. There are probably from 1500 to 2000 on the strike.

"Those on the strike, together with their confederates, some of whom, for purposes of violence, have come from States adjacent to Colorado, have so often attacked and fired upon the miners now working in the coal fields that it is impossible to put those two warring elements to work in the same mines.

"If the striking miners are to be returned to work, those now working must necessarily leave the mines.

"They fear that the striking miners, should they be inducted into the mines with them, will watch their opportunity to assassinate them or catch them in some serious mine disaster. It has been reported to them that such threats have been made and they believe they would be carried out.

* * * *

"A RECOGNITION OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, WITH ITS CHECK-OFF SYSTEM, CLOSES ALL THE MINES OF COLORADO TO ALL WORKMEN WHO DO NOT BECOME MEMBERS OF THAT ORGANIZATION.

* * * *

WHAT THE "CHECK-OFF" MEANS

"By that (the check-off) is meant this: When a mine is working under union conditions and under a contract with the union, the mine management is required by the union rules and by the contract to charge against and hold out of the wages of every employe all dues, fines, assessments and initiation fees levied against the union members by the union, either local or national. These charges frequently run high and dissatisfy the laborers.

"But, no matter what their dissatisfaction, the deductions must be made just the same; and this, by the way, is the principal object in unionizing the mines.

"And these assessments must be submitted to by every man working in a unionized mine, whether he affiliates with the union or not.

"AND THIS, WE ARE ADVISED, IS THE ONLY LABOR UNION IN EXISTENCE THAT EXACTS THE CHECK-OFF.

"The following is a clause in the proposed scale demanded of the United Mine Workers:

> "It shall be a condition of employment that all men working in and around the mines shall be members of the U. M. W. of A., and all companies to this agreement shall collect from their employes 2 per cent. of the gross earnings of all day men and 3 per cent. of the gross earnings of all miners, which shall have preference over all other collections, and turn over to the authorized agents all such moneys after being notified by the miners' organization.

"We feel that an unbiased reading of the record in this case will disclose that labor conditions were most satisfactory in the mining regions of Colorado until trouble was fomented by the officers, agents and employes of the United Mine Workers of America.

"The only recommendation we have to suggest is that the officers of the law be encouraged to faithfully and rigorously execute the laws now on the statute books, as well as those molded into our common law, as this, in our judgment, will be found more effective than the cultivation of a maudlin sympathy for those who stand in open rebellion against the constituted authorities of a sovereign State."

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 6 JULY 15, 1914

NEARLY 10,000 MEN NOW AT WORK IN COLORADO COAL MINES

The coal mine managers of Colorado issue this statement in order that the public of the United States may know the exact state of affairs in Colorado today:

Out of a total of 141 coal mines which were in operation in August, 1913—the month before the strike—132 are now in commission.

Last August 12,059 men were employed; **A DAILY AVERAGE OF 9892 MEN WERE AT WORK IN APRIL, 1914.**

The coal mined amounted to 549,953 tons in May this year as against 859,047 tons in the month before the strike. The State Coal Mine Inspector's reports for the first five months of this calendar year show a production of 3,066,174 tons in the five months. This is 69.6 per cent. of the total production of 4,403,913 in the corresponding period of 1913, when business was more normal and no strike had occurred.

Production of coal for June shows a further increase. All the coal is now being mined that the market will absorb.

In September, 1913—the strike was called September 23d—12,346 men were employed. The number that went on strike, including the men who on account of their families or otherwise left the State to avoid trouble, was 4650, or only 38 per cent. of the total. A considerable percentage of even these men have returned to work.

* * * *

This strike was not the work either of the managers of the mines or of any large portion of the miners, less than 10 per cent. of whom were members of the United Mine Workers of America. It was planned outside of the State of Colorado, led by outsiders, and financed from outside.

It was designed to shut out from employment all but miners who were members of a particular union and compel the mine owners to collect from the men's wages dues, assessments, benefits and fines, and turn them into the treasury of the United Mine Workers of America.

The strike was not called in response to any demand for it by Colorado miners. A secret ballot taken at a number of the mines on September 21, 1913, two days before the strike was called, disclosed the fact that from 90 to 99 per cent. were satisfied with conditions and opposed to the strike.

The so-called joint convention of September 15th, which called the strike, was not representative of the Colorado coal miners. **The mine managers offered to submit to Governor Ammons, or to any arbitration board named by him, every demand made, except that of recognition of the union,** but they would not treat in any way, directly or indirectly, with the organization known as the United Mine Workers of America.

* * * *

This strike—if strike it can be called—has developed two armed insurrections on the part of the strikers, the first against the county authorities and the mines, which resulted in calling out the militia; the second, against the militia and the State of Colorado, which involved the calling in of the United States army.

The mines have been in operation steadily since the strike was imposed, the output never dropping below 50 per cent. of normal, even in October, 1913, and increasing from that time. A large proportion of the men still on strike are held in tent colonies through intimidation, and because the leaders of the strike know that if these men are removed from their influence and restraint, and allowed to follow their inclinations and desires, they will quickly return to the mines.

* * * *

ALL THAT THE MINE MANAGERS ASK IS THAT PROTECTION BE ACCORDED THEIR EMPLOYES IN THE LEGITIMATE PURSUIT OF WORKING FOR THEIR LIVING, under an eight-hour law and at wages than which no higher are paid for similar labor in any part of the United States.

With protection assured, not merely for the moment, but for the future, the mines of Colorado will experience no difficulty in obtaining competent and willing workmen sufficient in number to produce all the coal the market demands.

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 7 JULY 22, 1914

LEADING COLORADO MEN APPEAL TO THE SECRETARY OF LABOR

The Bishop of Colorado, the President of Colorado College, and other leaders of Colorado life, have addressed an open letter to Secretary of Labor Wilson, urging him to use his influence with the labor leaders to have the Colorado coal strike called off.

The grounds on which these gentlemen made this plea are:

1. That so small was the number of miners belonging to the union that there never was any general strike.

2. That there have been so many acts of unprovoked violence for which the leaders of the strike have not attempted to disclaim responsibility.

3. That those in charge of the strike have displayed bad faith.

4. That the leaders of the strike have practically assumed an attitude of rebellion toward the State of Colorado, having openly called men to arms.

5. That the strike is lost, and it being a losing cause it is not fair to union men in other parts of the country that they should be paying out their hard-earned money to support in "ridiculous idleness" the little camps of union men which are still maintaining the nominal strike.

The open letter concludes: "Let the agitators from other States be withdrawn, as the mine guards have been sent away, . . . and much greater credit will be done the union than is possible by continued agitation."

The letter in full is reprinted on the following pages.

THE LETTER

"To the Hon. William B. Wilson,

"Secretary of Labor, Washington, D. C.

"Mr. Secretary—By virtue of your present office, charged with the interests of the laboring man, and further by reason of the responsible position that you so long held in the service of organized labor, you are the man that above all others ought to be appealed to in the present condition of affairs in Colorado.

"As citizens of that State, voicing, we believe, the sentiments of a large majority of our fellow citizens, we appeal to you to put forth all of the great influence that is centered in you, to cause the strike in the Colorado coal fields to be called off.

"In making a request that affects so many men, reasons should be presented. We submit in the first place that **THE SUCCESS OF THE STRIKE WAS VERY DOUBTFUL FROM THE BEGINNING.**

"Less than one-quarter of the miners belonged to the union.

"Those who did not were so far contented with conditions that they could not be expected to join in the strike; at least, the result proves that to be the case.

THERE WAS NO GENERAL STRIKE

"In reality there was no general strike, because many men, in the neighborhood of 10,000, have been regularly employed all through the times of disturbance, and the State has been continuously supplied with near its normal quantity of coal.

"It should be called off because of the many acts of violence that have accompanied it.

"You yourself have doubtless observed that nothing more quickly dissipates the sympathy of the public than unprovoked violence.

"An imperfect account shows about 76 violent deaths, most of them unprovoked murders, in connection with this strike.

"To these are to be added countless cases of assault and of wanton destruction of property. In other strikes, the leaders have been able, more or less successfully, to disclaim the responsibility of themselves and of the union for the case of violence.

"Here there appears to be no thought that such deeds are even matters for apology.

"Such an attitude reflects upon the union, and any true friend of the workingman should deplore violence as standing in the way of an honorable settlement.

STRIKE IS LOST

"A third reason why the strike should be called off is the bad faith of those in charge of it.

"When it became necessary to call out the troops it was demanded that both strikers and mine guards should be disarmed. The guards did so in good faith and practically all of them left the country.

"A like good faith does not appear to have been shown by the strikers. They gave up a comparatively few worthless arms, but hid the good ones.

"Then when almost all of the State troops had been withdrawn, they brought their rifles out of the hiding places. And on more than one occasion they showed their utter want of ordinary morality by displaying a white flag and then attacking the men who recognized and trusted this world-wide symbol of armistice.

"MEN WHO ACT IN BAD FAITH NOT ONLY FAIL AS INDIVIDUALS TO HOLD THE CONFIDENCE OF THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS, BUT THEY DESTROY RESPECT FOR THE ORGANIZATION WITH WHICH THEY ARE CONNECTED, AND IN WHOSE NAME THEY ARE ACTING. This is the case with the non-combating population of Colorado, who are now bitterly opposed to these methods.

"A further reason why the strike should be called off is the attitude its leaders have assumed toward the State.

"Those who openly call men to arms against the State are clearly liable to the penalties of treason.

"What they did yesterday in Colorado, they are ready to do against Illinois tomorrow, and against the United States the day after.

"As a public officer, you can in no way better serve your country, the administration of which you are a part, and the organization with which for so many years you were identified, than by using your great influence for the calling off of this strike.

BAD FAITH OF STRIKERS

"Besides all these cogent reasons, Mr. Secretary, **IT OUGHT TO BE CALLED OFF BECAUSE IT IS LOST.**

"It is not fair to the union men who are working, to keep them supporting the strikers, when there is not a ghost of a chance for success.

"The men in the Boulder County field have been on strike for four years, and have cost the union treasury two million dollars, and there is not the slightest prospect of a settlement.

THE MINES ARE RUNNING AND ARE SENDING OUT FULL PRODUCT, WHILE LITTLE CAMPS OF UNION MEN SIT IN RIDICULOUS IDLENESS.

"Let the agitators, brought from other States, be withdrawn, as the mine guards have been sent away, and let the miners be allowed to resume work, and much greater credit will be done the union than is possible by continued agitation. Very sincerely,

H. MARTYN HART,
Dean of St. John's Cathedral.

H. A. HOWE,
Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, University of Denver.

CHARLES SANFORD OLMSTED,
Bishop of Colorado.

WILLIAM F. SLOCUM,
President of Colorado College.

CHARLES G. WILLIAMS,
Pastor Capitol Heights Presbyterian Church.

ROBERT M. DONALDSON,
Acting President, Westminister College.

HARRY CARSON BIDDLE,
Attorney at Law, Denver."

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 8 JULY 25, 1914

NO "MASSACRE" OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN COLORADO STRIKE

Much is contained in current magazines concerning the alleged killing of women and children during the Colorado coal strike. If through instigation or connivance the coal mine managers of Colorado had permitted anything of this kind to be done on their behalf, the situation would be indeed grievous.

The principal episode in which such tragedies are alleged to have occurred was the so-called Battle of Ludlow, on April 20th.

To state the truth on this and other subjects, the Law and Order League, an organization largely composed of women, has caused a carefully prepared statement to be presented to President Woodrow Wilson.

The statement was signed by about twelve hundred representative Colorado citizens, and submitted by Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell, of Denver, Vice-President of the League. Mrs. Grenfell has three times been Superintendent of Public Instruction, and has been for the past five years Penitentiary Commissioner of Colorado.

In connection with occurrences at the Battle of Ludlow, and especially concerning the report that women and children were ruthlessly killed, Mrs. Grenfell's statement to the President says:

"In connection with the strike, numerous acts of violence and loss of life and property occurred before October 28, 1913, when the State troops were ordered to the field.

"During the time this body of troops, small in number, remained in the field, law and order were maintained, only

two men losing their lives, one by accident, the other while resisting arrest.

"The withdrawal on April 18th of all of the troops from the large area covered by the strike, save the small body stationed at Ludlow, and who were left behind because of the urgent request of residents of the locality, was immediately followed by the battle of April 20th, which, according to the account of witnesses, was precipitated by the strikers occupying the tent colony just after a visit by a military detail for the purpose of demanding the release of a man reported as being unlawfully detained by the strikers.

GREEKS LED IN TROUBLE

"The preponderance of testimony declares that the Greek contingent of the strikers' colony intrenched in a railroad cut, where the strikers had previously hidden 300 guns, began the attack.

* * * *

"During the conflict following, a fire was accidentally started either by an overturned stove or an explosion, and two women and eleven children were afterward found suffocated in a covered pit dug under a tent.

"Not one of them was hit by a bullet, as was shown by the report of the coroner's jury.

"The presence of women and children in such pits was not suspected by the soldiers, who had seen them running in large numbers to an arroyo before the first shots were fired.

"Evidence also shows that eight hours after the beginning of the fight, when screams were heard issuing from the tents, certain of the troops, at the risk of their own lives, under constant fire from the Greek strikers, rushed to the rescue and removed the women to a place of safety, and in this removal first discovered the existence of the subterranean pits.

"BOTH SIDES AGREE THAT NO WOMAN WAS STRUCK BY A BULLET FROM EITHER SIDE.

"No machine gun was at any time directed against the colony.

* * * *

"A boy of twelve crossing the field was shot in the forehead while facing the strikers.

"The elaborate rifle pits occupied by the strikers showed that they had made deliberate preparation for battle, and were so located that the shots from them could not be answered by the troops without firing into the tent colony which the pits surrounded.

ATTACK NOT PLANNED BY THE TROOPS

"That the attack was not planned by the troops is conclusively shown by the fact that the soldiers were scattered about the district, employed in their usual morning work, and that the commanding positions were occupied by the strikers in the beginning of the fray.

"The entire force of troops, in the early part of the day, was but thirty-eight men as against at least 500 armed strikers.

"Later in the day other troops and individuals entered into the fight, and it is charged that there were instances of acts of violence on the part of those opposing the strikers, the most serious being the unsoldierlike offense of striking the prisoner, Tikas, by an officer of the State troops.

"The discovery that all wounded or dying men, whether soldiers or civilians, who fell into the hands of the strikers had been tortured and unspeakably mutilated may explain, even if it does not excuse, the wrong doing charged."

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 9 JULY 30, 1914

COAL MINERS EARN MORE IN COLORADO THAN IN ANY OTHER PART OF THE UNITED STATES

Colorado's coal mining wage scale is—and has been for two years—about 20 per cent. higher than the scale in districts with which Colorado coal competes.

Colorado coal miners are and have been for several years earning better wages than miners in any other part of the United States, not excepting Wyoming, whose scale is nominally, though not in results to the men, higher than that in Colorado.

A voluntary increase of about 10 per cent. in wages was made by the coal mining companies in April, 1912, without even the suggestion of a demand on the part of the miners.

* * * *

SPECIMEN ANNUAL WAGES

THE AVERAGE DAILY EARNINGS OF A COLORADO COAL MINER ARE $4.00 A DAY.

Suggestion is sometimes made that such a figure applies only when the man works—that he doesn't get a chance to work enough days to earn good annual wages, and that that is the real test.

Congressman Kindel, of Colorado, speaking in the House of Representatives on June 13th, said:

"The uncontroverted testimony taken by the investigating committee of this House discloses the average daily earnings at five representative mines for the months immediately preceding and following the strike to be $4.41, $4.27, $4.98, $4.67, and $4.90 per man."

* * * *

WHAT THE COLORADO FUEL AND IRON COMPANY PAID

The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the largest coal producing company, pays out in wages to all employes about $10,000,000 every year. Some 6000, out of a total of 12,000 employes, work in and around coal mines.

For the fiscal year just prior to the strike the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company operated 21 mines. The average number of men employed in digging coal was 2340.

At the Pictou mine, four brothers, Italians, who worked the entire year, earned an average of $1833 each.

AT 13 OF THE MINES WHERE 1384 MINERS (59 PER CENT. OF ALL THE MINERS) WORKED, THE YEAR'S EARNINGS PER MAN RANGED FROM $980.97 TO $1259.14. The working time at these mines varied from 213 to 306 days, depending on local conditions.

At five of the mines 675 miners earned from $805.93 to $943.31, working time ranging from 183 to 253 days.

Two of the remaining three mines were closed down for a continuous period of almost half of the year and worked but 159 and 151 days respectively; the average earnings per man for the half year being $599.66 at Lester and $596.39 at Walsen.

The one remaining mine worked 168 days out of the year, the miners earning an average of $4.54 per day, or $764.08 for the year.

Arbitrary deductions from these earnings are 50 cents per month for sharpening tools, $1 per month for doctor's services, covering all necessary attention to the employe and his family, and whatever amount may be paid for powder, the total for powder amounting to from 8 cents to 20 cents per day, and averaging less than $4 per month per man.

The correctness of these figures was proven in an examination made by certified public accountants chosen by the Governor and a committee of newspaper men.

* * * *

WHY MINERS OPPOSED A STRIKE

In addition to these earnings, paid semi-monthly, and the right to trade where they please, the miners have an eight-hour day underground and a checkweighman where they want it.

It is not hard, therefore, to understand that they were satisfied with their conditions and opposed to a strike.

Neither is it hard to see why no more than 50 per cent. of the men at any time quit work, nor difficult to understand

why more than 70 per cent. of the normal quota of men should be at work now, in spite of all the agitation and effort to foment strife.

Union sympathizers outside the State are supporting in idleness some 1500 or 2000 men to keep up a semblance of a strike.

* * * *

The mines are meanwhile producing all the coal the market will absorb.

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 10 AUGUST 3, 1914

NOT UNION LABOR—BUT ORGANIZED TYRANNY, THE ISSUE IN COLORADO

The fight of the Colorado coal mine managers is not against union labor.

The principle of collective bargaining is not at stake.

The struggle in Colorado is against the domination of a particular organization—the United Mine Workers of America.

Opposition to the intrusion of this organization is due to the fact that but a small minority of the miners of Colorado are members of it, that its methods are intolerable, and that its leaders have condoned, if not instigated, unnumbered acts designed to plunder property and to maim and kill loyal employes.

* * * *

POSITION OF THE MANAGERS

A peculiar feature of the United Mine Workers of America, one which distinguishes it from all other unions, is that in all mines where its regime is "recognized" the operator must agree (*a*) that members of that union must receive first choice of all jobs, and (*b*) that before the men receive their wages, deduction must be made of whatever union dues or fines have been assessed, and the amount paid to that union. This is called the "check-off."

The managers felt that submission to any such plan as that was unjustifiable in itself, and was **an imposition upon their employes,** who had a right to receive the whole of their wages without interference by anyone. The earnings of the miners in the Colorado mines were the highest paid any coal miners in the United States.

* * * *

WHAT RECOGNITION OF THIS UNION IMPLIES

That the obnoxious "check-off" system of deducting the union wages and fines before the men receive their pay is fundamental with the United Mine Workers is indicated in the following testimony of John Mitchell before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, April 6, 1914 (Page 70):

"Mr. Weinstock: You explained that under existing agreements the employers deduct from the wages the union dues?
"Mr. Mitchell: Yes.
"Mr. Weinstock: Does that mean that all mines employing union men are closed shops?
"Mr. Mitchell: Yes; that is, they are union shops.
"Mr. Weinstock: Non-union men are not employed there?
"MR. MITCHELL: ANY MAN APPLYING FOR EMPLOYMENT MAY BE GIVEN WORK WITHOUT A PROTEST, BUT HE AFTERWARD AUTOMATICALLY COMES INTO THE UNION.
"Mr. Weinstock: And if he refuses to pay his dues he cannot be employed?
"Mr. Mitchell: No."

* * * *

TYRANNY OF THE "CHECK-OFF"

The "check-off" means that all dues, fines, assessments and fees, which the organization sees fit to levy against its members, shall by the operator be deducted from the earnings of all workmen and remitted to the organization before any payments are made to the employes by the mining company.

These checks frequently run high and dissatisfy the miners. No matter what their dissatisfaction, the deduction must be made just the same. Neither sickness nor unusual requirements or needs of a miner's family will permit the mine manager to take care of the miner's wants without first remitting to the organization the dues and assessments which may have been levied.

The following is a clause in the proposed scale demand of the United Mine Workers:

"It shall be a condition of employment that all men working in and around the mines shall be members of the U. M. W. of A., and all companies to this agreement shall collect from their employes 2 per cent. of the gross earnings of all day men and 3 per cent. of the gross earnings of all miners, which shall have preference over all other collections, and turn over to the authorized agents all such moneys after being notified by the miners' organization."

* * * *

How subversive of discipline in a mine this "check-off" is can best be gauged by such sections as Section 13, Article

XV, in the constitution of the U. M. W. of A. in the district adjoining Colorado:

"Any member of the U. M. W. of A. found guilty of giving evidence against any members of one organization without first being called upon by the pit committee or district board shall, for the first offense, be fined $10.00."

Thus, if a mine superintendent suspects infraction of rules for safety, and should call up a miner and try to find the truth, should a miner tell him what he knows the company must withhold $10 from the miner's pay and turn it over to the organization.

* * * *

In this same constitution, Section 8, Article X, reads:

"Any member or members found guilty of giving DAMAGING EVIDENCE, either verbal or written, to the company's representatives in case of accident, without the consent of the State mine inspector or his deputies or legally constituted authority, shall be expelled from the union and shall not become a member again for less than $100, and the local expelling him shall notify the district secretary, and he shall notify all locals in the district."

That is, the door is closed as tightly as possible on any investigation, by the mine officials, of an accident that has occurred. If the miner who assists them goes to work again, they must hold out his fine of $100 and turn it over to the U. M. W. of A.

* * * *

HOW THE MEN ARE BLED

There are innumerable excuses for smaller fines. An illuminating paragraph in Section 1, Article XVI:

"Each member of the United Mine Workers of America in District 14 shall be assessed 1 per cent. on all their gross earnings . . . for the purpose of creating a defense fund for the benefit of the United Mine Workers of America in District No. 14."

The constitution of District No 15, United Mine Workers of America, which embraces Colorado, provides in Section 3, Article VI:

"All dues, assessments and fines shall be collected by the check-off system, or its equivalent."

There is a side light in Section 1, Article X:

"It shall be the duty of each member to ask for union-label goods in stores where they deal, and if said stores don't handle union-made goods, they shall request them to handle union-made goods or not patronize said store."

* * * *

THE COMMENT OF A CONGRESSMAN

In speaking, on June 13, 1914, in the House of Representatives at Washington, Congressman Kindel, himself a member of a labor union, had this to say of the United Mine Workers of America:

"It has already been charged that the United Mine Workers of America is a criminal conspiracy under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Its officers, and many of its leading members, are at this moment under indictment in the courts of several States.

"In 1912 the Socialist element in its ranks secured control of the organization, and its constitution was amended so as to proclaim that its members are entitled to absolutely all the profit derived from the business in which they are engaged to the exclusion of the man—the parasite as he is termed—who has invested his capital in a presumably legitimate business.

"But if these things were not so, **the demand for this so-called check-off,** the insistence of these leaders that an employer shall and must arbitrarily deduct from the pay roll of every employe, whether such employe desires it or not, an amount to be determined by others, **is so un-American and, in my opinion, so unlawful as to compel all fair-minded men to condemn any organization, be it a labor union or otherwise, which insists upon such a practice** as one of the cornerstones of its structure.

"There is no other labor organization in the world which depends upon this iniquitous practice for its existence. The check-off can be defended on no possible theory."

* * * *

TEN THOUSAND LOYAL MEN

Ten thousand men are now faithfully at work in the Colorado coal mines. They are producing all the coal the market will absorb.

To agree to the demands of those still nominally on "strike" would mean that these ten thousand men would of necessity be handed over bodily to the mercies of a labor union which they had never joined and which they had indicated no disposition to join.

Surrender to the lawlessness and riot supported by the United Mine Workers of America would involve not only sacrifice of what the coal mine managers feel to be profoundly right, but would also mean betrayal of that daily increasing army of loyal employes, who in their silent fashion have manifested their preference to work in the "open shop" promised to them at these mines—where any good workman is welcome.

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

No. 11 August 7, 1914

HOW COLORADO EDITORS VIEW THE COAL STRIKE.

After the strike was called in the coal mines of southern Colorado, and unusual acts of violence were committed, editors representing 25 leading papers of Colorado met in Denver to learn the facts and to determine upon a policy.

These editors heard what the different interests had to say, and issued a manifesto to the people of the State—proposing terms upon which in their judgment the strike should be settled.

The coal mine managers accepted the editors' proposition without qualification. The leaders of the men refused to do so.

The report of the editors' conference in detail is presented below:

Gov. E. M. Ammons told why he called out the troops and what he proposes to do through their operations.

Ford Cornwall, Thomas Dennison, and A. Lamont, three men on strike, were selected by the strike leaders and told why they struck and what they are demanding.

John C. Osgood, president of one of the large companies, gave the operators' side of the controversy, and John Mc Lennan, president of District No. 15, United Mine Workers of America, told why that organization called the strike.

The six addresses occupied six hours. Every speaker was given unlimited time and no interruptions allowed.

Following the addresses the editors went into executive session and adopted the following resolutions with three dissenting votes

* * *

To the people and the press of Colorado, to the coal-mine owners, And to the coal miners of this State.

For the past two months a strike has existed in the coal-mining industry of Colorado. As a direct result of this strike human lives

have been sacrificed, many thousands of laboring men thrown out of employment, property destroyed, business conditions have become depressed, the price of coal has been advanced, the reputation and credit of the State at home and abroad is being impaired, and the public at large is being made to suffer beyond accurate calculation. The unfortunate conditions are not in harmony with the peace, prosperity, and general welfare that is supposed to be guaranteed to all men and to all institutions alike under the constitution of this State and of the United States.

For the purpose, therefore, of trying to arrive at a method of assisting in terminating this industrial conflict between the miners and the mine owners in a manner which will be in accordance with the laws of Colorado enacted to regulate the coal mining industry, the newspapers of Colorado represented, acting on behalf of the general public have met in Denver, and after hearing the arguments and statements of representatives of the coal mine owners, of the coal miners, and of the United Mine Workers of America, and a statement from the governor of this State, and having given extensive consideration to each and every one of these statements, and having weighed their effect fully and carefully, the newspapers represented have agreed upon a general and a united policy of action, to be recommended to the press of Colorado, with reference to the termination of this strike, based upon the authority of the existing State laws.

WHAT THE MINERS DEMANDED.

Before stating our conclusions, we desire first to state the cause of the strike, viz: the demands made by the miners upon the coal mine owners of Colorado, which are as follows:

The demands of the miners:

First. We demand recognition of the union.

Second. We demand a 10 per cent. advance in wages on the tonnage rates and the following day-wage scale, which is practically in accord with the Wyoming day-wage scale.

Third. We demand an eight-hour workday for all classes of labor in or around the coal mines and at coke ovens.

Fourth. We demand pay for all narrow work and dead work, which includes brushing, timbering, removing falls, handling impurities, etc.

Fifth. We demand check weighmen at all mines, to be elected by the miners without any interference by company officials in said election.

Sixth. We demand the right to trade in any store we please and the right to choose our own boarding place and our own doctor.

Seventh. We demand the enforcement of the Colorado mining laws and the abolition of the notorious and criminal guard system which has prevailed in the mining camps of Colorado for many years.

THE EDITORS' CONCLUSIONS.

First demand. Recognition of the union.

With reference to the first demand we submit the following facts and conclusions:

The question of the official recognition of any labor organization or labor union by any employer or employers of labor is a question not reached or controlled by law, but must be mutually desired by both employer and employee to become a recognized reality.

In other words, if employers do not desire to recognize a labor union as an organization in the employment of members of that union, there is no law upon the statute books which can or will compel them to do so.

WE HAVE COME TO THE CONCLUSION, THEREFORE, THAT THE FIRST DEMAND MADE BY THE MINERS IS NOT ONE WHICH CAN BE ARBITRATED BY ANY BODY OF MEDIATORS, FOR THE REASON THAT AS STATED ABOVE, IT MUST BE A MATTER MUTUALLY DESIRED AND AGREED TO BY EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE.

However, so long as individual workmen in the employ of coal-mine owners desire to belong to a union they have a perfect right to do so. This right is guaranteed them by the laws of the State, and therefore this first demand for official recognition of the United Mine Workers of America, as such, should not be further pressed by the members of that organization in accepting a declaration on which this strike should now be terminated.

However, the right of the miners to belong to a union under the authority of the State of Colorado should be recognized and upheld and should not be objected to by any employer of labor.

* * * *

ADEQUATE WAGES ALREADY PAID.

Second demand. A wage increase of 10 per cent.

Fourth demand. Additional pay for additional and varied work.

In our judgment these two demands should be merged into a single demand, especially as both the second and fourth demands contemplate a higher net income in wages for the miners and our conclusion is, therefore, that these demands should be consolidated and considered under one general proposition.

With reference to this general wage demand, therefore, our conclusions are as follows:

The amount of money a miner can earn depends on the amount of work he can or is willing to perform. In a published advertisement over the name of the United Mine Workers of America which recently appeared in the Denver Newspapers, a statement was made to the effect that all the miners wanted was "a living wage and the enforcement of the laws affecting the coal-mining industry."

The question very properly arises, therefore, as to what should be considered a living wage.

The average wage earned by the individual coal miners working in all parts of Colorado, as published in the advertisements of the coal-mine owners, we find to be approximately $4 per day, practically $105 per month, and working eight hours a day or less if they choose.

This is said to include the wages earned by good bad, and indifferent miners. The wages of some miners is said to run as low as $2.25 per day, while other miners individually earn over $7 per day.

A comparison of the average coal miner's wage for the entire State of $4 per day, with the wages earned by other classes of laboring men in Colorado who are equally skilled with a coal miner, shows that if the average wages of all coal miners in Colorado is $105 per month, they are now being paid, in our belief, what has been referred to as a living wage; in fact, that they are already being paid a wage entirely in keeping with the wages paid for other classes of labor in Colorado.

Therefore, taking the miners at their published word, we believe that their original demand for a 10 per cent. increase over the present Colorado scale, and which as later modified in their advertisements to a demand for living wages, has already been met by the payment of the existing scale of wages for mining coal in this State, and which is higher in the net wages earned than in any other State. Therefore, this, the second and fourth demand upon the part of the United Mine Workers of America for living wages is now being given the miners by the coal mine owners.

* * *

Third demand. An eight-hour day for all classes of labor in and around the coal mines and at coke ovens.

This third demand is one which is guaranteed to miners employed in underground mines by the laws of Colorado. If the laws of this State have been disregarded in the employment of labor in the coal mining industry, it is the duty of the governor to enforce this law, and in this he should be heartily supported.

Therefore, our conclusion with reference to the third demand on the part of the miners employed in underground mines is that it should be guaranteed to them in accordance with the laws of this State.

* * *

Fifth demand. Check weighmen at all times.

This, the fifth demand, is another to which the miners are clearly entitled, and which is guaranteed to them under the law. If this law has not been enforced, or if the miners have not taken advantage of their rights under it, it is the duty of the governor of Colorado to guarantee the enforcement of this law.

* * *

Sixth demand. The right to trade at any store.

This sixth demand, also, may or may not have been accorded the miners by the mine owners. It is a demand, however, which should be guaranteed to them, for the reason that the laws of Colorado provide that no coercion should be practiced by any coal mine owner against any miner in the buying of his household supplies. Therefore, this sixth demand should also be guaranteed to the miners under the provision of the laws relating thereto.

* * *

Seventh demand. General enforcement of Colorado mining laws; abolition of guard system.

This seventh and last demand upon the part of the miners is not open to discussion, so far as that portion of it which relates to a general enforcement of the Colorado mining laws is concerned;

for, without question, the miners are entitled to receive the full benefit guaranteed to them under the mining laws of this State.

So far as the employment of police or mine guards is concerned, this practice during periods of peace is maintained solely as a matter of police protection against ordinary disturbances and against possible damages to property in times of petty brawls which are of ordinary occurrence in many mining camps; and so long as these guards or police are maintained upon a company property for the purpose of preserving the peace and to protect that property, there is no good or legal reason for their removal.

With the exception of this portion of the last demand of the miners, our conclusion is that the seventh demand, for general enforcement of the mining laws of Colorado, is clearly right, and should also be guaranteed to the miners by the full power of the laws of this State.

CONDITIONS OF PEACE.

Therefore, after mature and careful consideration of all the factors in connection with this strike, we hereby make the following declaration:

That the strike which has prevailed in the coal mining industry in Colorado should be called off under the following terms and conditions, viz:

First. That the miners should waive their first demand, which is for a recognition of the union, on the ground that the recognition of any union must necessarily be a matter of mutual agreement and not of coercion, and not being covered by any law; and for the additional reason that the laws of Colorado guarantee to every miner the right to belong individually to any labor organization without prejudice or discrimination on the part of any employer of labor.

Second. That the miners should waive their second and fourth demands for an increase in wages, not only for the reason that the wages now paid to coal miners in this State are larger than in most other States, and are as large as paid in most other lines of industry in Colorado, but also for the reason that the modified demands of the miners, as published in the newspapers, asking for living wages, are, in our opinion, already met, being paid to them in cash, twice a month, by the coal-mine owners.

Third. That the miners are entitled to have granted their demands, in accordance with the laws relating thereto, designated as follows:

Third demand. For an eight-hour work day in all coal mines.

Fifth demand. For a checkweighman in all mines where they ask, to be selected from among the miners by the miners, to be paid by them, and without interference upon the part of the operators.

Sixth demand. The right to trade at any store.

Seventh demand. The demand for the enforcement of all laws relating to the coal-mining industry.

Also that all competent striking miners who have not been guilty of violation of the law while on strike should be taken back by the coal-mine owners without prejudice.

ALSO, THAT ANY COAL-MINE OWNER HAS A LEGAL RIGHT TO EMPLOY ANY PERSON OR PERSONS WITHOUT INTERFERENCE OR THREATS UPON THE PART OF ANY OTHER PERSON OR ORGANIZATIONS, AS PROVIDED BY LAW.

Also, that we declare it to be the duty of the governor of this State to compel the enforcement of the State mining laws, to which we pledge our earnest support and co-operation; and that, to obtain for the miners every right to which they are entitled under the law, the rigid enforcement of the State laws is alone necessary.

NECESSARY TO INSURE THE PEACE.

We commend Gov. Ammons for sending troops into one disturbed district of the State, and express our full confidence in the integrity of his purposes respecting the unfortunate industrial strife that exists there. However, we believe the troops should be adequate in number to become sole protectors of life and property in sections of the State where such strife exists or is threatened, and that the National Guard should be recruited to meet conditions as they may arise. That is our opinion that until such time as the National Guard may safely be withdrawn from the affected districts and law and order restored that all offenses and violations of law pertaining to the strike should be immediately tried before military courts.

We further request the governor to take such action as will prevent the importation of firearms into this State by any individual or any organization, because we believe that no one has a right to bear arms here except those legally authorized to do so under the laws of the State of Colorado.

* * *

Thus it will be seen that we have found in favor of the miners in four of the six general demands they have made and have recognized their right to work as union.

That in declining to side with the miners in the other two demands as stated, we have concluded that the miners are already receiving living wages; and have, at the same time, found for the miners in their first demand, by insisting that one of the conditions under which this strike is to be called off is that all competent miners shall have guaranteed to them under the provisions of the laws of the State the right to belong to any organization without prejudice or discrimination on the part of any employer, which means their right to work as union miners on the open-shop plan.

* * *

Therefore, in the interest of the miners, of the coal owners, and of the general public, we hereby declare that this strike should be called off under the conditions stated above, in order to insure the future development of the coal-mining industry of Colorado and the peace and prosperity of its people.

In the carrying out of this policy by the governor of this State, we pledge the support of the editors and papers here represented and ask for the cooperation of all our fellow editors in Colorado, who could not conveniently come to this conference, in support of such policy.

Also, that a copy of this declaration be furnished to the officials of the United Mine Workers of America, a copy to the coal-mine owners, a copy to the governor of Colorado, and that copies be sent to the press of this State for the purpose of advising the people concerning what we believe to be a just and fair declaration under the terms of which this strike should now be immediately called off and industrial peace restored, and that we pledge ourselves to support this declaration, based on law enforcement, in the editorial columns of our newspapers.

JOHN C. SHAFFER, *of the Rocky Mountain News.*
FRANK S. HOAG, *of the Star Journal.*
H. E. BOWDEN, *of the Trinidad Advertiser.*
L. C. PADDOCK, *of the Boulder Camera.*
FRED MARVIN, *of the Pueblo Chieftain.*

* * * *

THE ANSWER OF THE COAL-MINE MANAGERS.

Messrs. JOHN C. SHAFFER, FRANK S. HOAG, H. E. BOWDEN, L. C. PADDOCK, FRED MARVIN, *Denver, Colo.*

GENTLEMEN: The undersigned, coal-mine operators, are in receipt of a copy of the proceedings of the conference of editors, held in Denver, Thursday, November 13. In this statement you specify the conditions suggested by the editors under which the coal miners' strike in Colorado should be terminated. We agree to comply fully and in good faith with the conditions suggested by you in said statement.

When the operators receive the protection from the civil authorities for the men who desire to work and for their properties to which they are entitled, are not interfered with in employing men to take the places of those who are now on strike and who left before the strike was called, and are enabled to operate their mines under normal conditions to normal capacity, on the open-shop principle, which has prevailed in Colorado for more than 30 years, we will put into effect the scale of prices for coal heretofore prevailing.

Sincerely,

J. F. WELBORN,
President Colorado Fuel & Iron Co.
D. W. BROWN,
Vice President Rocky Mountain Fuel Co.
J. C. OSGOOD,
Chairman Board of Directors, The Victor-American Fuel Co.
F. B. LEWIS,
President Oakdale Coal Co., South Canon Coal Co.
F. A. PERRY,
Leyden Coal Co., Moffatt Coal Co.

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

No. 12 **August 11, 1914**

WHAT THE GOVERNOR OF COLORADO SAYS OF THE "GUNMEN" OF THE STRIKE.

In reply to an inquiry as to the assertion that what was tantamount to private war being made on behalf of the coal mine managers against the strikers, Gov. Elias M. Ammons, of Colorado, wrote the following letter to the Editor of the Boulder (Col.) "Daily Camera":

"Replying to your inquiry concerning 'gunmen' connected with this strike question, it is interesting to note what the facts really are.

"The National Guard was called into the field on October 28.

"They found a very serious condition in the strike zone, and a most difficult situation to control.

"They successfully handled numerous severe ordeals without firing a shot, refraining from resenting insult and abuse even under most exasperating circumstances.

"Maintaining as many as forty stations scattered over a territory greater in extent than some station, the guard handled the situation for almost six months without shooting a single striker.

* * *

WHO WERE SHOT BY SOLDIERS

"It is true two men were shot.

"One a non-union miner was accidentally killed while trying to break through the picket line; another non-union miner, having shot a town marshal, was killed by the guard after he had fired twenty-eight shots at them in resisting arrest.

"It must be admitted that this is a pretty record.

* * *

WHO WERE KILLED BY STRIKERS

"But there are other 'gunmen.'

"Five men in an automobile near La Veta were ambushed and shot, four of them fatally.

"This was the result of a plot by certain strikers.

* * *

"A non-union miner named Smith was beaten to death and his body thrown on the railroad track to be run over by a train.

"A cowboy, mistaken for a deputy sheriff, was shot to death near Ludlow.

"Nine men guarding the Forbes mine were shot and killed and part of the property burned.

"Two children were shot in bed at Tabasco.

"A man guarding a railroad bridge to prevent its destruction by fire was shot and killed.

"A Trinidad business man who had the temerity to sign a resolution upholding the constituted authorities was beaten and left for dead.

* * *

"In the Louisville district for most of a night and a day a perfect rain of bullets was poured into buildings containing forty or fifty women and children, and one man was killed.

"In other sections mines were fired on, women and children placed in jeopardy, and men employed in their protection were shot and killed.

"Large numbers of men were in armed insurrection against the authorities, and many of them were not citizens of the United States while several of the leaders were not even residents of Colorado.

"After the battle of Ludlow, where hundreds of armed men attempted the annihilation of the handful of national guard left in the field, imported leaders and an inflammatory press through exaggeration and untruth incited thousands to riot and insurrection, the burning of property, and the killing of men.

* * *

WHAT THE LOYAL SOLDIERS ENDURED

"The local authorities being powerless, the National Guard, the only men provided for such emergencies, were called back into the field.

"Although the men had not received their pay for three months and were not even comfortably clothed, notwithstanding they were villified from behind and confronted with overwhelming armed forces, they responded to the call to duty.

"Under most trying circumstances, the meager force of a few hundred men that could be gotten together hurriedly acquitted themselves carefully, and successfully checked the insurrection.

"In face of the greatest danger, maligned by the public press, the insurrectionists encouraged by inflammatory appeals in the centers of population, the men conducted themselves with grim heroism and performed a notable service to the state.

* * *

A CASE OF BUTCHERY

"The almost savagery of the 'gunmen' with whom they had to contend is illustrated by the butchery of the wounded soldier, Martin.

"Weak from loss of blood and unable to defend himself, a revolver was placed in his mouth and his head blown off, his limbs were broken and his body horribly mutilated.

"At Walsenburg, Major Lester, while engaged in caring for a wounded soldier and while wearing the Red Cross, was shot down and his body rifled of valuables and even clothes.

"IT WAS THE ACTS OF SUCH 'GUNMEN' THAT REQUIRED THE PRESENCE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD IN THE FIELD AND KEPT THEM THERE.

* * *

"In the light of misleading agitation I fear the people do not fully realize the importance of supporting the military arm of the government.

"Without this instrument of strength in times of great disorder there is nothing effectual to suppress insurrection; and until order can be restored there can be no assurance through civil authority for the protection of either life or property.

"It seems to me we should honor the brave boys of the National Guard, most of whom come from the best families of the state who gave or risked their lives for the restoration of peace; the reestablishment of personal and property rights and lawful organized government."

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

No. 13 August 17, 1914

THE ACTIVITIES IN COLORADO OF "MOTHER JONES."

While it is undesirable to deal with personalities in connection with any great economic question, the necessity for some statement of facts is created by a peculiarly inaccurate article published in the Metropolitan Magazine for July, 1914.

In this article much is made of the activities of "Mother Jones," whose name has frequently appeared in connection with this strike. Among other things, the following is cited: "When she returned to Colorado this old lady of eighty-two, who was opposing extreme measures, who told the miners not to shoot, but to keep quiet when the 'gunmen' were irritating them, this apostle of peace was seized by the militia and put under arrest."

As so many unwarranted inferences have been drawn from this and other episodes—as so much public sympathy has been sought on account of the alleged mistreatment of "Mother Jones," attention should be given to the Official Report to the Governor of Colorado and also to the President of the United States, by Gen. John Chase, in command of the Military District of Colorado during the strike.

* * * *

Gen. Chase says:

"MOTHER JONES"

"The person known as 'Mother Jones' has occasioned considerable publicity, and some embarrassment during the occupation.

"The embarrassment of her presence is not, however, confined to the military authorities by any means.

"It was at one time stated to me and the Judge Advocate, by Mr. McLennan, one of the principal strike leaders, that

Mother Jones was invaluable as an organizer in the early stages of the strike, because she excited the men, but had always proved very embarrassing to the union chiefs in the latter stages, particularly when there was possibility of a compromise or adjustment.

"McLennan stated in that conversation that Mother Jones was a very headstrong old woman, who would not submit to guidance or suggestion of any kind, even from her own people, and that they had to suffer her to do as she wanted, oftentimes to the great annoyance of those in charge of the strike.

"She is an eccentric and peculiar figure. I make no mention of her personal history, with which we are not concerned.

"She seems, however, to have in an exceptional degree the faculty of stirring up and inciting the more ignorant and criminally disposed to deeds of violence and crime.

"Prior to the advent of the state's troops she made a series of speeches in the strike zone, of which I have authentic and verbatim reports.

"These speeches are couched in course, vulgar, and profane language, and address themselves to the lowest passions of mankind.

"I CONFIDENTLY BELIEVE THAT MOST OF THE MURDERS AND OTHER ACTS OF VIOLENT CRIME COMMITTED IN THE STRIKE REGION HAVE BEEN INSPIRED BY THIS WOMAN'S INCENDIARY UTTERANCES.

"The fact that she is a woman and advanced in years she uses as a shield, as well as a means of invoking popular sympathetic sentiment in case of her incarceration.

"She is undoubtedly a most dangerous factor in the peace problem.

* * *

"I am informed that she was so found in West Virginia and elsewhere that disturbance and anarchy held sway.

"She was held for murder in West Virginia, and I am advised that her police record is in the possession of the Pinkerton Detective Agency.*

DEFIED THE STATE GOVERNMENT.

"As Your Excellency is fully aware, she defied all government and all authority of the Governor to Your Excellency.

[*Referred to in detail in speech by Congressman George Kindel of Colorado, before House of Representatives, June 13, 1914. Published in full in "Congressional Record" for that date.]

"Every effort was made to induce her to remain away from the troubled district, and the co-operation in that respect of the strike leaders was invited.

"These latter, however, while evincing a disposition to keep Mother Jones out of the territory, frankly confessed their inability to do so.

"She came to Trinidad, after publicly declaring her intention to incite trouble.

* * *

"In view of her history in other places and the evident effects of her incendiary utterances in Colorado, Your Excellency deemed it wise and even necessary, as a military measure, to restrain Mother Jones of her liberty so long as she persisted in remaining in the strike region.

"Accordingly, upon the day of her arrival in Trinidad I arrested her and placed her in San Rafael Hospital, upon the outskirts of the city, where she was given every attention conducive to her comfort.

"She was advised that she was always at entire liberty to leave the disturbed parts of the state, but she pertinaciously and with great contumacy insisted on remaining in imprisonment.

"It was avowedly present in her mind to excite sympathy for the union cause by submitting to a continued incarceration, and with that in mind she was at first very angry that she had been so nicely restrained at the hospital, instead of being confined in a common jail, of which she felt she would be able to make more capital.

"After many weeks' confinement, however, she sought a confidential interview with Colonel Davis, commanding the central camp at Trinidad, in which she discussed ways and means of bringing about her departure and at the same time saving her face.

"Being anxious only to get rid of the incendiary woman, her suggestion that she be permitted to go to Denver, ostensibly to see Your Excellency, and that, if liberated at that place, she would depart upon some excuse of her own, was readily adopted.

REPUDIATES HER OWN PROPOSAL.

"Upon her own suggestion, she was brought to Denver and liberated as suggested, but she promptly repudiated the rest of her proposal, and, after interviewing her attorney and strike leaders, and remaining in Denver for three or four

days, she returned to the strike district, where again, by Your Excellency's directions, I have had the unpleasant duty of detaining her.

"She was again notified that she was free to leave the district at any time she wished. She returned to the strike district, not for the transaction of any business, or for any other purpose than to defy the power of the state, and, as she stated in numerous interviews, 'to establish her constitutional right to go where she pleased,' and in open defiance of the power and authority vested in the chief executive."

* * *

TELEGRAM TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

"I am directed by the Governor of Colorado to inform the President of the United States that one Mary Jones, alias 'Mother' Jones, is and always has been at entire liberty to leave the disturbed district, but insists upon remaining, avowedly to make incendiary speeches.

"She is confined with comfort in a pleasant room in a large church hospital, as a necessary peace precaution, in view of her history elsewhere.

"March 8 a non-union miner was atrociously murdered near the union tent colony at Forbes in the strike zone, to which colony the murderers were easily tracked.

"This murder was significant just at this time.

"At the urgent request of the sheriff, all of the inhabitants of this small colony were arrested—sixteen men.

"There were no women or children.

"The tents were ordered removed, to forestall further outlawry.

"Colorado has maintained peace and preserved its constitution and laws with its own patriotic volunteer militia, thankless, self-sacrificing, patiently, silent under abuse.

"The silence that military rule and necessity enjoin I am directed to break, that the President may be advised."

(Signed) JOHN CHASE,
Brigadier General,
Commanding the Military District of Colorado.

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 14 DENVER, AUGUST 25, 1914

WHY THE STRIKE WAS FORCED ON COLORADO MINERS

Of transcendent consequence is the fact that the Colorado coal strike was not due to dissatisfaction of the men with their working conditions.

There were petty grievances, of course. The 14,000 men working in the mines of this district earned the highest wages paid in any coal mining region in the United States. They had made no demands for general changes in conditions.

But the Union decided at its headquarters in Indianapolis that there should be a strike. Agitators were accordingly sent to Colorado to stir up trouble and to arouse the men to fancied grievances.

Recognition of the Union was the underlying motive of the strike plan.

Why should that be so important to the Union? Why should it be of importance for the Union to force itself upon a mining community, even when there were no wrongs to redress, no demand by the men for the Union's assistance?

* * * *

WHY COLORADO WAS ATTACKED

Colorado miners are the best paid in the country. "Recognition" of the United Mine Workers of America means in effect that every man in the mine must be a member of the Union. Every mine is required to pay the Union dues and assessments first out of the man's pay.

In brief, "Recognition" of this Union means submission to this system of "checking-off" Union dues, fines and assessments before any man can be paid the wages he has earned.

These assessments may be made by the Union's officers at any time and for any purpose. For example, out of the wages

of miners in other sections of the country than Colorado had to be "checked-off" the funds to meet the expenses incident to stirring up the strike in Colorado.

* * * *

The Committee in charge of the campaign in Colorado consisted of Frank J. Hayes, John McLennan and John R. Lawson. The report of the Secretary-Treasurer of the general organization covering the period ending November 30, 1913, shows that out of the daily wages of the miners of the country there had been collected money to pay, among other things, salaries and expenses as follows:

Frank J. Hayes, nine weeks' salary . .	$4052.92
Frank J. Hayes, nine weeks' expenses .	1667.20
Total for salary and expenses . .	$5720.12

Frank J. Hayes was thus paid over $90 a day, or at the rate of over $32,000 a year.

For this same period of nine weeks, John McLennan received for salary $2683.55; for expenses $1469.55—$66 a day.

John R. Lawson received for nine weeks' salary $1773.40.

Mother Jones, whose sole duty was to agitate, received $2668.62 as salary for the same period—$42 a day.

* * * *

Colorado miners with their high wages evidently offered a glittering prospect to the treasury of the United Mine Workers of America.

* * * *

MINERS NOT RESPONSIBLE

Up to the time the strike was called, however, but few of the workmen had responded to the urgent appeals to join the Union. The records showed that on May 31, 1913, in the three States of Colorado, Utah and New Mexico, where 23,000 men were employed in coal mines, only 2048 were members of the Union.

The strike in southern Colorado was nominally called by a so-called "convention" held in Trinidad. Two hundred and fifty "delegates" were present: 100 were striking and idle miners from the northern Colorado coal field; about 50 were officers and paid employes of the Union; the rest were selected by those in charge of the convention.

A careful poll by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company at its mines a few days before the strike showed from 90 to 99 per cent. of the men opposed to the proposition.

* * * *

When the strike was called only 4650 men laid down their tools. Many left through intimidation; others took their

families away to avoid the threatened bloodshed. Many men returned to work almost immediately.

The Union provided tents for the strikers to live in while the strike was in progress. Many nominal "strikers" were naturally employed from outside to go and stay in the tent colonies.

As the real strikers returned to work or left the district, other outsiders were sent to recruit the tent colonies.

At the present time, although the mine managers are prevented by the Federal Government from soliciting new men to work their mines, the tent colonies are constantly receiving additions from outside—not from the working miners.

Instead of the managers hiring miners, the Union is hiring "strikers."

* * * *

TESTIMONY OF A SOLDIER

That the Union men of the country who are contributing to maintain this appearance of an effective strike are being misled is indicated by the following statement by Captain Hildreth Frost, of Company A, Second Infantry, N. G. C., who was also Judge Advocate in one of the districts of Colorado during the military occupation of the strike zone:

"My district included the producing mines of Wocton, Morley, Starkville, Piedmont, Sopris, Cokedale and McLaughlin and the coke ovens of Sopris and Cokedale, with a population of the district of between six and eight thousand.

"There was one tent colony in my district and a large number of strikers and their supporters.

"I took a careful census of the entire district and either myself or one of my lieutenants personally examined the Union cards of practically every Union man in the District.

* * * *

"We found approximately 700 men in the District holding Union cards. Every card bears the stamp of the date the man joined the Union.

"I found only ONE card of a resident of the District who was a member of the United Mine Workers of America prior to or at the time the strike was ordered a year ago this July, AND ONLY FOUR OR FIVE WHO WERE MEMBERS OF THE UNION PRIOR TO THE TIME THE STRIKE WAS ACTUALLY COMMENCED ON SEPTEMBER 23, 1913.

* * * *

"I found that less than 300 of the approximately 700 Union card holders in my District were actually in any coal mine in southern Colorado at the time the strike was called.

"The balance of the 700 had simply joined the Union to swell its apparent strength and to draw the $3.00 a week stipend."

THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 15 **DENVER, SEPTEMBER 4, 1914**

THE EFFECT OF CLOSING SALOONS IN COLORADO COAL MINING DISTRICT

In the *Western Christian Advocate* for June 8, 1914, a writer criticises Colorado coal mine managers for their policies in respect to

Camp Marshals,

Deductions from Employes' Pay Rolls, and

The operation of saloons at the mining camps.

Concerning these criticisms, Mr. J. F. Welborn, President of The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the largest of the Colorado mining companies, makes this statement specifically as to the practices of his own company:

CAMP MARSHALS

"Camp marshals, who in many instances are regularly elected constables, are employed only in the larger coal camps.

"Their general duties are very much the same as those of the peace officer in villages and small towns throughout the United States. In addition, they have charge of the sanitary conditions of the camps and the general repair and care of tenant houses.

"At Colorado Fuel and Iron Company camps, numbering 22, and employing from 5000 to 6000 men, representing a population of approximately 15,000, there were employed immediately prior to the strike only seven camp marshals, or one for every three camps.

* * * *

"The camp marshals are neither 'gunmen' nor thugs, and are chosen for the duties assigned to them with the same view to their fitness for that work that is exercised in the selection of other employes for particular work.

"The marshal is often the one man in the camp to whom the employes tell their troubles, both real and imaginary.

"He does not, as is charged, assault the miners, and they are free to complain of him or anyone else without danger of being discharged.

* * * *

DEDUCTIONS ON PAY ROLLS

"The statement is made that 'a study of the pay rolls shows how few of the miners receive in cash anywhere near the amount of their earnings.'

"Colorado coal miners are paid twice per month. During the fiscal year preceding the strike the employes at The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company coal mines received 80.9 per cent. of their earnings in cash.

"Of the 19.1 per cent. of all earnings deducted by the company before making payment to the men, 11.73 per cent. represented purchases at our stores; 2.25 per cent. represented rent of houses; and the remaining 5.12 per cent. represented coal, board, hospital, powder and the customary charge of 50 cents per month for sharpening tools.

* * * *

"During the same fiscal year The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company mines worked an average of 248½ days.

"THE MINERS EARNED AN AVERAGE OF $4.02 PER DAY, AND $999.36 FOR THE YEAR.

"THEY WERE PAID IN CASH AN AVERAGE OF OVER $800 FOR THE YEAR'S WORK.

"They do not have to wait two weeks after their month's work before being paid, but receive payment on an average of not more than seven days after the closing of each half month's period.

SALOONS

"It is charged that 'some of the coal companies maintain their own saloons for their men and issue scrip to their employes for use in the company saloons; while in other places exclusive saloon privilege in a camp has been granted to a saloon keeper, and he is charged 25 cents to 40 cents for every man whose name appears on the company pay roll.'

"The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company neither operates saloons nor grants saloon privileges for a consideration based on the number of men employed or the amount of liquor consumed.

"At five of its camps, located some distance from the nearest town, it gives leases, revocable at will, on buildings at a reasonable rental rate to tenants who operate saloons under very strict regulations providing for early closing, the maintenance of strict order, and the closing on occasions of any unusual excitement on request of the mine superintendent.

"The other camps of The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company are located within or near towns having a number of saloons, with which the company has nothing to do either directly or indirectly.

* * * *

"The officers of The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company believe in the policy adopted by certain important railroads prohibiting the use of intoxicating drinks by their employes both on and off duty, but many of the coal mine employes demand their liquor, and unfortunately some will not work where it cannot be obtained.

"Experience shows that where no saloon is immediately available many workmen go as far as is necessary to find one, and there spend Saturday nights, Sundays and holidays, often returning unfit for work until after a day or two of rest, and the general service is always greatly disorganized by the incapacity of a few.

"With the advent of the Federal troops all saloons in the coal mining districts were closed, and as a result the efficiency of the workmen has greatly improved, the average production of coal per man increasing about 10 per cent.

"The production at this Company's mines in the Southern district of Colorado for the first eighteen days of April averaged 5.85 tons per day for each miner at work. That was before the Federal troops closed the saloons.

"For the first eighteen days of June (with all saloons closed) each man produced 6.52 tons, which meant an average increase in wages of over 11 per cent. per man.

"This has confirmed the view long held by us, that **if saloons and drinking could be eliminated from the coal districts, not only the miners but the companies would be greatly benefited.**

"What I have said applies specifically to the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, but I think, in a general way, is true of the coal mining industry in the State."

NSH 82673

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TITLE